FRONTISPIECE.

D. Neale delin. Jn. Lodge Sculp.

Let kindred Nation's learn from hence to know,
What dire Effects from civil Discord flow.

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Eliza Martin

THE

HISTORY

OF

NORTH and SOUTH AMERICA,

CONTAINING,

An Account of the firſt Diſcoveries of the NEW WORLD,

THE

CUSTOMS, GENIUS, and PERSONS of the original INHABITANTS, and a particular Deſcription of the AIR, SOIL, natural PRODUCTIONS, MANUFACTURES and COMMERCE of each SETTLEMENT.

INCLUDING A

GEOGRAPHICAL, COMMERCIAL, and HISTORICAL SURVEY of the BRITISH SETTLEMENTS, From the earlieſt TIMES to the preſent PERIOD.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

WEST INDIES and the AMERICAN ISLANDS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An IMPARTIAL ENQUIRY INTO THE PRESENT AMERICAN DISPUTES.

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Deſcription of the FRONTISPIECE.

MELPOMENE, the Genius of TRAGEDY, is ſeated under a WEEPING WILLOW, and writing the tragic annals of the year 1776. MERCURY, the meſſenger of the Gods, is flying through the air, to acquaint MELPOMENE with the fate of a battle repreſented in the back ground of the plate. Oppoſite to MELPOMENE, MINERVA, the *Goddeſs of Wiſdom*, is ſeated, in a penſive poſture, under a FADING OAK, the emblem of unhappy BRITAIN. Her ſhield and ſpear lie neglected at her feet, implying, that the utmoſt efforts of wiſdom have not been able to avert thoſe ills Melpomene is recording. *The ſhip* ſtruck on the rocks, and ſinking, and the broken Anchor on the ſhore, inſpire thoughts of deſpair.

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THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE OF NORTH AMERICA.

History of the Conquest of MEXICO.

HAVING now finished our description of Mexico, the last place on the continent of North America, we think it will not be unacceptable to our readers, if we lay before them an historical detail of the conquest of this empire by the Spaniards: after which we shall proceed to a minute enquiry into the state of the West-India islands.

An ancient painter drew a satyrical picture of Cimon the Athenian. He represented this commander asleep, and Fortune drawing a net over cities to put them into his posses-

ſion. There never were princes to whom this repreſentation could be applied with more juſtice, than to king Ferdinand and his ſucceſſor the emperor Charles. Without forming any plan in the cabinet, without iſſuing a penny out of their treaſury, without ſending a regiment from their troops, private adventurers amongſt their ſubjects put them into poſſeſſion of a greater, and a more wealthy territory, than ever the moſt celebrated conquerors had acquired by their valour, or their wiſdom. Nor was this conqueſt more extraordinary for the trivial means by which it was accompliſhed, than for the ſhortneſs of the time in which it was effected; for from the departure of Columbus, which was in the year 1492, to the entire reduction of Chili, which was in 1541, ſeven great kingdoms, inhabited by a vaſt number of warlike and wealthy nations, were made to bow under the Spaniſh yoke.

After the diſcoveries of Columbus had enlarged the ſphere of induſtry to active minds, ſuch a ſpirit of enterprize went abroad, that not only thoſe perſons whoſe indigence might have driven them from their native country, but perſons of the firſt rank went over to ſettle in America. Gold was the ſpur to all thoſe adventurers, of whatever rank, and this, with a romantic ſpirit of chivalry, made the greateſt hazards appear but common matters in their eyes. And indeed in a country wholly uncivilized, under the burning zone, and in many places

extremely

extremely unhealthy; the temperance of the Spaniards, their hardineſs under fatigue, and the patience and perſeverance which make the moſt ſhining part of their character, enabled them to engage in enterprizes, and to ſurmount difficulties, to which any other people had certainly been unequal.

Vaſco Nunez de Balboa made a conſiderable figure amongſt theſe adventurers; he was a man of a graceful preſence, a liberal education, a hardy conſtitution, and that kind of popular bravery, which recommends a man who engages in deſperate expeditions, where he muſt have more authority from his perſon than his place. This man firſt ſurrounded Cuba, conquered, and left it.

He did not there find the treaſures which he expected. He therefore relinquiſhed the gleanings of this field to thoſe who had a more moderate ambition, and a more ſaving induſtry. He ſought new ground, he followed the tracks of Columbus to Darien, gained the friendſhip of ſome of the Caziques, and conquered others. He was the firſt who diſcovered the South-Sea. He ſettled a colony upon that coaſt, and built the city of Panama. But according to the fate of all the firſt adventurers in this new world; indeed according to the fate of moſt who engage in new undertakings, he never lived to reap the fruit of his labours.

He found himſelf ſuperſeded by one who had only diſcernment enough of his merit to raiſe his jealouſy and envy, and who could

make

make no other uſe of the diſcoveries of this great man, than to increaſe his own private fortune. This man was a politician and a courtier, and having in ſeveral inſtances baſely injured Balboa, he was too wiſe to ſtop there, but under a pretended form of juſtice cut off his head, and confiſcated his eſtate.

Some time after the ſettlement of Cuba, Don James Velaſquez obtained the government; a man of good ſenſe in common affairs, but ſo much miſtaken, as to imagine he could act a great part by deputy; and that too in circumſtances, wherein a man who had but little capacity, could do him but little ſervice, and he that could do much, would certainly do it for himſelf.

The continent of America was now very well known, and the fame of the greatneſs and wealth of the Mexican empire ſpread every where. This inſpired Velaſquez with a ſcheme of reducing ſome part of this opulent country under his obedience. He pitched upon Hernando Cortes to command in this expedition, in which he certainly made a very right judgment. There was no man amongſt the Spaniards, who to an adventurous diſpoſition, then common to them all, knew ſo well to join a cool and ſteady conduct, to gain love whilſt he preſerved reſpect; not to ſhift his ſchemes according to occaſions, but perſiſting uniformly in a well-judged deſign, to make every inferior action and event ſubſervient to it; to urge

ſtill

ſtill forward; to extricate himſelf out of difficulties into which he was brought by bold actions, not by mean ſubterfuges, but by actions yet bolder. This was the character of the man already in high reputation, whom Velaſquez choſe to conquer for him.

The embarkment was made at St. Jago de Cuba, and Cortes was to take in ſome reinforcements at the Havannah. But he was hardly departed, when Velaſquez grew jealous of him; and, without conſidering that Cortes was of that heroic diſpoſition in which a blind obedience is rarely a principal ingredient, he took the ill-judged ſtep of removing him from the command of an army, which in ſome ſort might be conſidered as his own, ſince he had much influence on the ſoldiers, and a conſiderable part of the expence of the armament had been ſupplied by himſelf.

When this order, which was to deprive him of his command, arrived to Cortes, he was not long before he came to a reſolution. He explained the whole matter to his ſoldiers; he ſhewed them how uncertain the intentions of Velaſquez were, and how much all their hopes were like to be fruſtrated by the inconſtancy of his diſpoſition. The event was prepared. The ſoldiers declared to a man, that they were ſubjects only to the king of Spain, and knew no commander but Cortes. The army and the general, thus

bound

bound to each other by their mutual diſobedience, ſailed for Mexico.

The empire of Mexico was at that time governed by a prince called Montezuma the Eleventh, who reigned from the firſt monarch who had conquered the country. The empire was elective, and the merit of Montezuma had procured him the election. A prince of capacity and courage, but artful, hypocritical, and cruel. This empire, founded on conqueſt, was increaſed by his victories. By himſelf, or by his generals, he had abſolutely ſubdued ſeveral kingdoms and provinces; ſeveral were made tributary, and others, which were not abſolutely ſubdued, were influenced by his power to an entire obedience to his will. His armies were the beſt in that part of the world, and prodigiouſly numerous. In this ſituation, and ſo headed, was the empire of the Mexicans, when Cortes came to prove its ſtrength, with an army of no more than five hundred foot, and not quite ſixty horſe.

He did not come a ſtranger into the country, to encounter a force which he dared to engage only becauſe he was ignorant of it. He had long made every poſſible enquiry from the Spaniards and Indians in every circumſtance of its internal weakneſs or power; its allies, its enemies, and the intereſts which determined them to be allies or enemies. Weighing all theſe, and knowing that, along with great hopes, great dangers likewiſe lay before him, he made his retreat

yet

yet more dangerous by diſobedience to the governor of Cuba; and when he landed on the continent, he made it impoſſible, for he burned his ſhips.

But though he had made a retreat impoſſible, he had ſomething more to encourage him to go forward, than the impoſſibility of retiring. He had great hopes that many of thoſe ſtates, who were kept in a forced ſubjection or a ſlaviſh dread of Montezuma, would gladly turn this new and alarming appearance from themſelves againſt that monarch, and, under the banner of theſe formidable ſtrangers, arm themſelves to ſhake off the ancient tyranny, which always appears the worſt, without forſeeing conſequences, to which more civilized nations have frequently been as blind as they. It happened according to his expectations.

The Zempoallans, a nation tributary to Montezuma, as ſoon as they had ſufficient proofs of the power of the Spaniards, at the expence of ſeveral of their neighbours, who attempted to oppoſe their progreſs, threw off the Mexican yoke, gladly put themſelves under the protection of Cortes, and earned it by the large reinforcements which they added to his army.

Montezuma was ſoon made acquainted with theſe meaſures. For, according to the cuſtom of that well-regulated kingdom, he had poſts ſo ſtationed, that in a little time he had notice of whatever happened in the remote parts of his empire. The diſpatches

which

which were ſent him, were painted cloths, exactly repreſenting every circumſtance of the buſineſs of which he was to be informed; the figures were interſperſed with characters to explain what muſt neceſſarily be wanting in the picture. So far, but no farther, had this people advanced in the art of writing. As well informed as the emperor was of every particular of this invaſion, and of the defection of his tributaries, he acted not at all conformably to the greatneſs of his former exploits. He took the worſt method which a great prince ever did upon ſuch an occaſion, which was, to temporize. He let the Spaniards ſee, by ſome trifling arts which he uſed to oppoſe them, that he did not look upon them as his friends, and at the ſame time neglected to act againſt them as ſo formidable an enemy required.

They made daily advances in the country. His enemies were encouraged, his tributaries made inſolent, and his ſubjects and allies utterly diſpirited; whilſt the Spaniards, in a variety of engagements which they had with the petty princes of the country, raiſed their reputation by a train of victories, and began to be conſidered as invincible.

Cortes, like the great commander he was, took advantage of this irreſolute diſpoſition in Montezuma, and uſed every poſſible means to cheriſh it. He always ſent back what priſoners his new allies had taken, with preſents, and every profeſſion of eſteem and regard for their maſter, and with the ſtrongeſt

aſſurance

aſſurance of a deſire of preſerving peace; requeſting to ſee Montezuma, and to confer with him upon ſome matters which he ſaid he had in charge to deliver to him from his maſter the emperor of the Romans.

There was at that time a celebrated republic on the coaſt of Mexico, towards the gulf, called Tlaſcla. This people were ſaid to be ſo powerful, as to be able to arm four hundred thouſand men. Powerful as they were, though not ſubdued, they were yet awed by the greatneſs of the Mexicans. This awe, or perhaps a better policy, induced them to give a check to the Spaniards. But, in the manner of Montezuma's proceedings, they would not oppoſe them publicly, and therefore could not oppoſe them effectually. Some nations, on whom they had prevailed to fall upon the Spaniards, were over and over again defeated, together with thoſe troops the Tlaſcalans had ſent clandeſtinely to their aſſiſtance.

At laſt, by degrees, declaring themſelves more openly, as the danger preſſed them, they drew a large army into the field, which was routed by the troops of Cortes; few indeed in number, but infinitely ſuperior in arms, and now grown familiar with victory. The conſequence of this battle was the alliance of the Tlaſcalans with their conqueror, which they entered into with the leſs difficulty, as they were to ſerve againſt the Mexicans, and might now hope to ſerve with ſucceſs. Cortes, however, did not chuſe to

truſt this untried and forced alliance too far, nor at the ſame time to deprive himſelf entirely of the ſuccour it produced. He therefore took a middle courſe, and, accepting three thouſand of their men, he held on his route to Mexico.

Before Cortes began his expedition to Mexico, he had built a ſtrong fortreſs at the principal port on the coaſt, to open a paſſage for ſuccours, whenever his ſucceſs ſhould make intereſt enough to procure them. This he called La Vera Cruz, and it has ſince become a city, remarkable for the great traffic carried on between thoſe opulent countries and Old Spain.

During the Tlaſcalan war, in which the Spaniards ſuffered ſomething, and had every thing to apprehend; Montezuma took no ſteps, but lay by, watching the event, in hopes that the Tlaſcalans might defeat the troops of Cortes at their own expence; or, if the Spaniards proved victorious, he might then have the merit of not having uſed hoſtilities againſt them. He loſt both parties by this double conduct; ſuch an inſidious neutrality betrays nothing but the weak policy of him who uſes it. However, as a fair correſpondence ſtill ſubſiſted between them, he uſed every means he could to diſſuade Cortes from his propoſed journey to Mexico.

At laſt he took a ſtep, worſe judged than all the bad ones he had hitherto taken. He ſent to the Spaniards a very large and magnificent preſent, of every thing his dominions afforded

afforded valuable, but principally a vaſt quantity of gold and precious ſtones; offering at the ſame time yet more, and perſuading them to return to their own country. If any perſon in the army was unwilling before this to proceed, he now changed his mind. All were convinced that they ought to advance with ſpeed to poſſeſs the fountain of that wealth, of which this rich donation was but an inconſiderable rivulet.

Montezuma, baffled in all his ſchemes to keep the Spaniards at a diſtance, having uſed himſelf to ſhifting meaſures untill they were in a degree grown habitual, found Cortes at the gates of Mexico before he was reſolved how he ſhould receive him. It was now almoſt too late for force. He therefore diſſembled his concern with the beſt grace he could, and received him with all the honours a monarch can beſtow, when he would diſplay his own magnificence and ſhew his ſenſe of extraordinary merit. Cortes was lodged in a palace ſpacious and grand, after the manner of the country. All his Spaniards were lodged with him; but he took care to place a train of artillery at his gate.

Thus poſted, without a blow, in the heart of this great city, the capital of the new world, he was for a while at a loſs what meaſures to purſue, for ſecuring himſelf in a conqueſt of ſuch importance. Having received more than he could reaſonably have aſked, there was no cauſe of complaint, and

conſequently no advantage to be colourably taken. He had only to wait for ſome of thoſe critical incidents, upon whoſe uſe all great matters depend, and without which the greateſt genius muſt be at a ſtand. It was not long before one of theſe occured.

Two Tlaſcalans arrived in diſguiſe at Mexico, who brought him an account that a general of Montezuma had attacked ſome of his confederate Indians; that the garriſon of Vera Cruz had gone out to their defence, and that, though the Mexicans were repulſed with loſs, the Spaniards were greatly endangered, many wounded, and one killed, whoſe head, by the order of Montezuma, was carried through all the cities and villages of their country, to deſtroy the reverence in which they held the Spaniards, and to undeceive them in a notion they had conceived, that theſe ſtrangers were immortal.

This intelligence alarmed Cortes. He knew that opinion was one of the ſtrongeſt ſupporters of his little force; that things of this kind never ſtop at their beginnings; that Montezuma, while he careſſed him in his city, was disjoining his allies, and diſtreſſing his garriſon abroad; and that no time was to be loſt in dilatory counſels; that he muſt keep alive the memory of his former exploits. He therefore took a reſolution worthy of a brave man, in a difficulty made for his capacity. He armed himſelf in the beſt manner, and with five of the moſt faithful and beſt reſolved of his officers, went directly

rectly to the palace of Montezuma. Thirty of his men attended at ſome diſtance. Guards of Spaniards were placed at the principal avenues to the palace.

It was uſual for Montezuma's guards to withdraw, out of reſpect, when he had any conference with Cortes. On this occaſion, as ſoon as he was admitted to audience, he charged the emperor with the outrages committed by his orders, in terms of great reſentment. The emperor diſavows them. But Cortes, after having paid him the compliment of not ſuppoſing him capable of ſo mean a diſſimulation, aſſured him, that he was himſelf entirely ſatisfied of his innocence; but that others had fears which were not eaſily removed: that, to ſatisfy the Spaniards, he muſt give ſome ſolid proof of his confidence in them; which he could effectually do no otherwiſe than by his removing without delay to their quarters. A requeſt of this nature ſtartled Montezuma, who never was uſed to any voice but that of the humbleſt ſubmiſſion. However, he ſaw plainly that Cortes did not make ſo extraordinary a requeſt but with a reſolution of making it to be complied with. He ſaw the neceſſity, and he yielded to it.

Thus was the metropolis of a vaſt and powerful empire, inhabited by an innumerable multitude of warlike people, entered without reſiſtance by an handful of men, who came to overturn its liberty. And thus was one of the greateſt princes on earth, renown-

ed for his wiſdom and valour, ſeized in his palace, in the midſt of his capital, at noon-day, and carried priſoner, without noiſe or violence, by ſix perſons, to be diſpoſed of at their pleaſure.

The people, confounded and enraged to find one whom they always uſed to revere as a god, treated in this unworthy manner, ſurrounded the quarters of the Spaniards to puniſh this ſacrilege, and reſcue their captive prince. But Cortes, who well underſtood the conſequence of the ſteps he had taken, was not alarmed. He knew that he had now in his hands an engine, which was capable of doing any thing. Montezuma went out to appeaſe the people, aſſured them that he was there of choice, and, (which was true) that the Spaniards were wanting in no inſtance of reſpect due to his character and dignity.

This appeaſed and diſperſed the people. But Montezuma, whoſe unfortunate circumſtances obliged him to act as an inſtrument to his own captivity, could enjoy no reſt, though allowed the attendance of the principal officers of his court, and indulged by the Spaniards in every thing but his liberty. Long revolving, he at laſt contrived a ſcheme, which he judged, without his appearing to occur with them, might alarm his ſubjects with a ſenſe of their danger, or oblige the Spaniards to depart by the reaſonableneſs of his propoſals. He had always liberty of going abroad with a guard of Spaniards,

niards, under pretence of doing him honour. He now deſired to hold a council of the ſtates of his empire, that in concurrence they might ſatisfy Cortes and his aſſociates in the ampleſt manner. This council was convened, in which Montezuma, in a premeditated ſpeech, ſet forth the origin of his nation; the prophecies extant among them, that a people of the ſame race ſhould arrive, to whom this empire ſhould be ſubject; that the people were now arrived who were the object of thoſe prophecies, and ſprung from this origin, to whom the gods had deſtined univerſal empire, and who, by their great accompliſhments and ſurprizing bravery, merited their high deſtination: then he ſolemnly declared himſelf tributary to the emperor of the Romans; he exhorted his people on their part to a due obedience; and ended by telling them, that, as he had himſelf prepared a preſent from his treaſures worthy of this emperor, he expected that every one of them, in proportion to his ability, would teſtify his loyalty to their new maſter, and his regard to the merit of his general and thoſe brave men that attended him, that they might be enabled to depart ſpeedily to their own country, with that opinion of their brethren the Mexicans, which their affection to them, and their obedience to their common maſter, deſerved.

At firſt a dead ſilence ſucceeded this harangue; the whole aſſembly were confounded and ſtruck dumb with grief, indignation and

and ſurpriſe. Then followed a mixed cry, as each perſon was affected by ſome particular part of the general calamity. The luſtre of their empire was tarniſhed, their religion to be profaned, their freedom ſurrendered, their empire degraded; what was worſe, degraded by himſelf; could they believe their ears? Was it Montezuma who had ſpoken in ſuch a manner?

The deſign of Montezuma was until this moment a ſecret to Cortes; he was ſurpriſed and ſomething chagrined at an artifice, the invention of which he now penetrated very clearly. But this ſurpriſe did not confound or perplex him in the part he ſaw it was proper for him to act. Without any embarraſſment, he ſeconded the harangue of Montezuma by a ſpeech, which was well interpreted, wherein he ſtrongly urged the propriety, and inſinuated the neceſſity, of an entire obedience to their prince and an imitation of his conduct. Diſordered as the aſſembly was, yet ſtill held by a ſacred reverence to their emperor, influenced by the hope of the ſudden departure of the Spaniards, and reſerving themſelves for a better occaſion, they followed Montezuma's example, and paid homage to Cortes, in that dumb and ſullen ſubmiſſion with which fierce ſpirits yield to neceſſity. He received it, and thanked them, as a man thanks his debtor for a ready payment.

Cortes ſaw that this empty homage ſecured him nothing; but he knew that the gold,

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which was to accompany it, would be of real ſervice in cancelling the ill impreſſions made by his diſobedience in Spain. In Mexico he might look upon himſelf as ſecure; he had the perſon of the emperor in his hands; he had his forces in the capital; he had lately ſtruck a terror into all, by ſeizing the general, who had committed hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards. He got the emperor to diſavow his conduct, and condemn him as a traitor. By their joint authority, this unhappy man, guilty of nothing but obedience to his lawful maſter and zeal for his country, was burned alive in the public ſquare of Mexico. But neither this horrid example, nor the impriſonment of their emperor, nor the late acknowledgement of the emperor Charles, was ſufficient to make the Mexicans inſenſible to the diſgrace they ſuffered, nor of the danger which hung over them,

They began to conſult how they might deliver themſelves. Some propoſed to cut off the communication with the continent, and hold the Spaniards beſieged in their quarters: for the city of Mexico is an iſland in a great lake, and communicates with the continent by four great cauſeways, extremely curious for contrivance and ſolidity. Whilſt they were ripening their ſchemes, a report came to Cortes, that ſome words had dropt from a Mexican, concerning the practibility of deſtroying one of theſe cauſeways.

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From this word (for he heard no more) this watchful and ſagacious commander judged of the whole contrivance. Without however taking notice of it publicly, he immediately orders two brigantines to be built to ſecure his retreat, if a retreat ſhould prove the wiſeſt meaſure. In the mean time he kept a ſtrict diſcipline in his army; and to preſerve reverence from the Indians, he prohibited their approaching his quarters when his men were aſleep, and ſeverely puniſhed thoſe of his ſoldiers who ſlept out of the times and places appointed for that purpoſe. All this while no preparations for his departure.

Montezuma, ſick with impatience of his confinement, and ſeeing that he daily loſt his authority amongſt the people by the puſillanimous appearance of his conduct, as ſoon as he perceived that any ſpirited action on his ſide would be ſeconded with equal ſpirit by his ſubjects, rouſed his dormant magnanimity, and, in ſpite of the condition he was in, ſent for Cortes, and addreſſed him in this manner: "Cortes, the deſires of my ſubjects, my own dignity, and the commands of my gods, require that you ſhould depart my empire. You are ſenſible how much I valued your friendſhip, and how effectually I have ſhewn that I valued it. But, after ſo many profeſſions of good-will on your ſide, and ſo many proofs of it upon mine, after every pretence of buſineſs is over, wherefore do you delay your return?

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I have yielded homage to your maſter, I am ready to obey him; I have ſent him preſents, or ſhall I call it a tribute, worthy of myſelf and of him? Your whole army is loaded, even to an inconvenience, with their darling gold. Would they have more? they ſhall have more. But then, when they ſhall have ſpoken their largeſt wiſhes, and ſatisfied their moſt eager deſires, I inſiſt upon it that they depart immediately; or they may find, in ſpite of the condition I am in, of which condition, for your ſake and for my own, I ſhall ſpeak but little, that Montezuma has yet courage enough to vindicate his honour, and friends in Mexico who will not fail to revenge the wrongs he ſhall ſuffer."

Cortes perceived ſomething of an unuſual reſolution and ſterneſs in the emperor's countenance whilſt he ſpoke. He therefore ſent orders, before the interpreter began to explain his ſpeech, that the Spaniards ſhould ſtand to their arms, and wait his commands. His anſwer was reſolute, but not ſuch as to drive the emperor to deſpair. He lamented the jealouſy which their common enemies had occaſioned; that, for his part, he was ſecured from all fear, by his own courage and the bravery of his own troops; but, ſince he was ſo unfortunate as to find he could not longer enjoy the honour of a converſation he had ſuch reaſon to eſteem, conſiſtently with the emperor's repoſe, he would depart

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as ſoon as ſhips could be built, for on landing he had been obliged to burn his own.

This anſwer ſoothed Montezuma; he reſumed his good humour, he promiſed to load his army with gold at his departure, and gave immediate orders that every thing ſhould be prepared for fitting out the ſhips in the ſpeedieſt and ampleſt manner. But Cortes gave orders, which were full as well obeyed, to the perſon he appointed for the equipment, to delay it upon every poſſible pretence. He expected daily the return of the meſſengers he had ſent into Spain, to ſolicit his pardon and ſuccours, with the continuance of the command,

Whilſt he was entertained with theſe expectations, and with finding out pretences to defer his departure, an expreſs arrived from Sandoval, his govenor at La Vera Cruz, informing him of the arrival of eighteen ſhips, in which was an army of eight hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, under the command of one Narvaez, who was ſent by his old enemy Velaſquez, the governor of Cuba, to ſuperſede him in the command, to treat him as a rebel, and ſend him in chains to Cuba. The governor ſeized the meſſengers, who were ſent by Narvaez to require him to ſurrender, and ſent them priſoners with this account to Cortes.

There never was a time wherein the firmneſs and capacity of this commander in chief were put ſo ſtrongly to the proof. On one hand, here was an army in weapons and courage

courage equal to his own, in numbers vaſtly ſuperior, and above all, ſtrengthened with the name of royal authority. The Mexicans, ill-affected before, would rejoice in this opportunity to fall upon him. On the other hand, muſt he reſign the conqueſts he had made with ſuch infinite toils and hazards into the hands of his mortal enemy, and in return to bear the name and receive the puniſhment of a traitor? There was little room to hope for an accommodation. The thoughts of a ſurrender was intolerable. One way only remained, to conquer Narvaez. His own courage and conduct; his ſoldiers, habituated to victory, and endeared to him by common dangers and triumphs; his reputation, and the ſignal providence which always attended him, would combat upon his ſide. Above all, no time was to be loſt in fruitleſs counſels. He ſent an expreſs to Sandoval, his governor in La Vera Cruz, to evacuate that place, and join him in his route with what men he had. He aſſembled his forces, and found them to a man attached to his intereſts, and ready to hazard every thing in ſupport of them. He left eighty men in Mexico, picked from his own troops, recommending them to Montezuma, and him to them. With this ſmall garriſon he dared to entruſt Mexico and all his vaſt hopes there; but the impriſoned emperor was himſelf a garriſon, from the reverence his ſubjects bore him. Before he ſet out, he releaſed

the priſoners which Sandoval had ſent him, uſing the ſeverity of his officer to diſplay his own clemency. He careſſed them extremely, loaded them with preſents for themſelves and the principal officers of Narvaez's army, and did every thing to create himſelf a party there by his generoſity. He ſent at the ſame time very advantageous terms of accommodation to the general himſelf, but took care to follow and ſecond his ambaſſadors with all the power he could raiſe. This, with Sandoval's reinforcement, did not amount to three hundred men; but with theſe, and with ſome confederate Indians, he marched with all imaginable diligence to Narvaez's quarters.

Narvaez, elated with the ſuperiority of his army, would hearken to no terms, though he was much preſſed to it by his principal officers, who diſcovered plainly that this quarrel could only end in the ruin of their party, or that of the Spaniſh intereſt in Mexico. Mean time Cortes, little incumbered with baggage, and leſs with a dilatory genius, advanced by forced marches. He was but a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's quarters, when the rains came on, and, as uſual in that country, fell very heavily. Cortes, knowing that the ill diſpoſitions of the ſky were circumſtances favourable to a ſurprize, inviting to deſperate enterprizes, and that they are always leaſt prejudicial to thoſe in motion; having perfect intelligence of the

diſpoſition

diſpoſition of Narvaez's army, and having diſpoſed his troops in ſuch a manner as not to fall upon one another, and to act in concert, he ordered them, when they ſhould enter the town where the enemy was poſted, to keep in cloſe to the houſes, that they might not ſuffer by the artillery, which was ſo placed as to play upon the middle of the ſtreet. Having made this diſpoſition, he marched to attack the camp, on one of thoſe gloomy and tempeſtuous nights. Though he directed every thing with the utmoſt ſecrecy, Narvaez had intelligence of his approach, but he laughed at it; and, not underſtanding the nature of a prudent raſhneſs, could not believe that Cortes would make ſuch an attempt in ſuch a ſeaſon, but went to ſleep, without taking ſufficient care that it ſhould not be diſturbed.

Security in the general is eaſily followed by that of every one elſe. Cortes aſſaulted the town in three bodies, and whilſt every one in the adverſe party ran in confuſion to his arms, and oppoſed without command or uniformity as each man was attacked, the whole army was routed. The quarters of Narvaez were attacked by Cortes's diviſion, and the men routed there as elſewhere. Narvaez himſelf, ſhamefully taken in bed, fell into his hands. "Value yourſelf, ſaid he, my lord Cortes, on your fortune in making me your priſoner." But Cortes, with a ſmile of indignation, anſwered, "That he thought

this by far the leaſt action he had performed, ſince he came into the new world."

When the morning came on, the diſperſed army of Narvaez began to form into bodies, and to diſcover the inconſiderable force which the night before had defeated them. Their firſt motion, diſtracted with ſhame and anger, was to fall upon the conquerors, and recover the honour they had loſt. But, when they found that their general was a priſoner, their artillery ſeized, and the advantageous poſt they had occupied in the enemy's poſſeſſion, and numbers amongſt themſelves well affected to Cortes, they liſtened at laſt to his propoſals, recommended as they were by the polite and inſinuating behaviour of which he was maſter, and that open and unbounded generoſity he ſhewed to every one. They all enliſted under his banner, and agreed to ſhare his fortune. Thus did this accident, which ſeemed to threaten inevitable deſtruction to the affairs of Cortes, prove the moſt effectual method of reſtoring them to an excellent condition, wholly by means of the wiſdom of his meaſures, and of that vigour and activity with which he purſued them. His army now conſiſted of above a thouſand men, after replacing his garriſon at La Vera Cruz, in which fortreſs he left Narvaez a priſoner.

This victory, and the reinforcement it procured, came at a moſt critical time; for hardly had he begun to adjuſt matters for his return to Mexico, when an expreſs arrived

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that his affairs there were in a moſt dangerous condition. Alvarado, whom he had left to command at his departure, though a brave and able man, had too great a contempt for the Indians, and too little a diſcernment for the nice circumſtances he was in, to manage with that juſt mixture of firmneſs and yielding, by which Cortes had hitherto ſo balanced the hopes and fears of the Mexicans, that he never gave them an entire opportunity of knowing their own ſtrength. This man, either diſcovering, or pretending at leaſt to diſcover, that ſome of the chief men in the city, who were met in the great temple, were aſſembled to conſult how to expel the Spaniards, ſuddenly ſurrounded the place, and murdered all the perſons of rank who compoſed the aſſembly.

This cruel and precipitate action fired the whole people. Enraged at what they had already ſuffered, and what they ſaw plainly they were yet to expect, their late ignominious patience, the fear of the Spaniſh arms, their inbred reſpect for Montezuma, were all loſt in their fury. Should they ſtay, until on various pretences they were all butchered? Montezuma, either forgetful of his office and dignity, or unable to exert it, could protect them no longer. Gods and men allowed them to defend themſelves, and arms were in their hands.

The flame ſo furious in the capital, ſpread itſelf with equal ſwiftneſs and rage over all the country, and all were vowed and hearty

for the deſtruction of the Spaniards. In this extremity, Alvarado ſhewed as much bravery as he had done imprudence in bringing it on. He redoubled his watch on the emperor; he obliged him to exert the remains of his authority in his favour, and, fortifying his quarters in the beſt manner the time would admit, he ſtood out the ſtorm and repulſed the Mexicans in ſeveral attacks. But their fury, far from relenting at the frequent and bloody repulſes they met, redoubled by their loſſes. They exerciſed the beſieged, day and night, with the moſt vigorous aſſaults; and to cut off their retreat, found means to burn the brigantines which Cortes had built.

Cortes, who was obliged to make ſo rapid a march from Mexico, to defend himſelf againſt Naryaez, was compelled by an equal neceſſity to march from Zempoalla to Mexico, to relieve his forces and preſerve his moſt eſſential intereſts there. The Mexicans, like all people who have not reduced the art of war to ſome rule, ſuffered their eagerneſs in purſuing one advantage to let another material one lie neglected. For, whilſt they puſhed on the ſiege of the Spaniſh quarters with great vigour and diligence, they took no effectual care of the avenues to the city, or to cut off all ſuccours from the beſieged. Cortes entered the city without reſiſtance. He ſoon routed thoſe who inveſted the poſt of the Spaniards, and brought them a relief

lief, of which they ſtood in the greateſt need.

The arrival of ſo formidable a body of troops held the Mexicans ſome time in ſuſpence; but, in ſpite of the fatal error of admitting them into their city, which had now inexcuſably been a ſecond time committed, and in ſpite of the ſucceſs every where attending the Spaniſh arms, they came to a reſolution of continuing hoſtilities. But things wore another face ſince the arrival of Cortes. No longer ſatisfied with defending his quarters, he ſallied out and defeated them ſeveral times with great ſlaughter. However, as he found that he ſuffered more by the leaſt loſſes than the Mexicans by the greateſt, he kept cloſe for ſome time, ſuffering the enemy to approach, in hopes of making one laſt effort, to appeaſe them by the authority of Montezuma.

This unhappy prince, reduced to the ſad neceſſity of becoming the inſtrument of his own diſgrace, and of the ſlavery of his people, appeared on the battlements, and addreſſed his ſubjects with every argument he could uſe to prevail with them to diſperſe. But this expedient was not attended with the uſual ſucceſs. The Mexicans, by an habit of living without rule, had many of them loſt much of that reſpect, which, even to adoration, every one of them uſed to pay their prince: they anſwered him with reproaches; and a ſtone from an uncertain hand ſtruck him with great violence in the

temple,

temple. The Spaniards carried him to his apartment. Here he refuſed to ſuffer any dreſſings to be applied to his wound; but, wrapping his head in his garment, gave himſelf up a prey to ſhame and grief; and in a few days died, leſs of his wound, which was but inconſiderable, than of ſorrow and indignation, on feeling that he had ſo far loſt the eſteem and love of his ſubjects. There are other accounts of the death of Montezuma, but this appears the moſt probable.

Thus died this noble prince, more remarkable for the great virtues by which he aſcended the throne, and thoſe qualities by which he held it in ſo much luſtre for many years, than for his ſteadineſs and wiſdom in defending it when attacked by a formidable enemy. It has happened thus to many great men. When Lucullus and Pompey attacked Tigranes, king of Armenia, we do not ſee any thing in him of the conqueror of ſo many kings.

It is natural whilſt we are raiſing ourſelves, and contending againſt difficulties, to have our minds, as it were, ſtrung, and our faculties intent and conſtantly awake. The neceſſity of our affairs obliges us to a continual exerciſe of whatever talents we poſſeſs; and we have hope to animate and urge us onward. But when we are come to the ſummit of our deſires, the mind ſuffers itſelf to relax. It is grievous to contend a new for things, of which we have long looked upon ourſelves as ſecure. When we have no longer any

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thing to hope, we have then every thing to fear. Thus enervated by this proſperity, and diſcompoſed with this fear, we become ſtiff and irreſolute to action; we are willing to uſe any temporizing meaſures, rather than hazard on an adventure of ſo much power and reputation. If Montezuma had made an early uſe of his power, he had ſtrength enough after many loſſes, to have kept Cortes far enough from his capital; but, having once entered upon ſhifting and dilatory courſes, this brave and active enemy gave his affairs a mortal blow, by ſeizing his capital and his perſon.

As ſoon as the Mexicans were apprized of the death of their emperor, they ſet about the election of a ſucceſſor. They immediately caſt their eyes upon Guatimozin, nephew and ſon-in-law of Montezuma, a man fit to command at ſuch a time; of a perſon graceful, a body ſtrong and robuſt, and of a ſoul full of the moſt undaunted courage. Though no more than twenty-four years old, the reputation of his early exploits procured him the authority of age, and a penetrating genius ſerved him for experience.

He was no ſooner called to this unſteady throne, than he took meaſures to prevent the Mexicans from their diſorderly and caſual attacks, and to make them act with deſign and uniformity. He examined thoroughly into the cauſe of their former miſcarriages; and conſidering every thing, he found

found that the Indians in their preſent condition, could never hope for any ſucceſs in open action; he reſolved therefore to ſpare his men as much as poſſible, until his own invention and time might teach them better methods of fighting. On theſe ideas he cauſed all aſſaults to ceaſe; then he cut off the cauſeways which joined the city to the continent, and at the ſame time ſtrongly barricaded the ſtreets, reſolving to ſtarve an enemy which ſeemed unconquerable by any other means; a meaſure, which though it has with us no extraordinary appearance, ſhewed no ſmall ſagacity in Guatimozin, becauſe it was what had never been before practiſed amongſt the military ſtratagems of this people, and invention is the characteriſtic of genius.

From henceforward the whole method of the war was changed, the Spaniards grew every day more and more ſtreightened for proviſions; and whenever they ſallied out, though they ſlew great numbers of their opponents, the many canals of the city, and barricado behind barricado, after ſome ſucceſsful progreſs, obliged them, vanquiſhed by mere wearineſs, to return without effect to their quarters. The Spaniards, invincible by the Indian arms, were not proof againſt famine. Cortes ſaw that nothing was left for his ſecurity, but as ſpeedy a retreat as poſſible; and though this muſt neceſſarily loſe them the moſt conſiderable part of the treaſure they had amaſſed, it was what leaſt afflicted him.

him. He encouraged his troops, by chearfully relinquiſhing his own part, not to attempt burthening themſelves with a treaſure which they might conſider as lying at an advantageous intereſt, until they ſhould, as they certainly would, be enabled to return with a ſufficient force to reclaim it.

The reſolution of retreating being now taken, and all things diſpoſed for it, a queſtion aroſe, whether it were better made by day or in the night. On this the council of war was divided; and their reaſons ſeeming pretty equal, a perſon among them, a ſort of aſtrologer, who paſſed for a prophet, and as ſuch was much reſpected by the greater part of the army, promiſed them certain ſucceſs if they retreated by night. Certain it is, that when meaſures are dubious, ſuperſtitious determinations have great uſe; for as reaſon cannot eaſily determine the right way, that method which ſuperſtition fixes upon it, by the weight it has from thence, is purſued with the greater chearfulneſs and effect.

The general was guided by the prophet, and he diſpoſed every thing for his retreat with great judgment. He cauſed the uſual fires to be lighted in every part of his quarters. Some of his boldeſt and moſt active men led the van. The priſoners, artillery, and heavy baggage were in the center. He himſelf, with one hundred of his choiceſt troops, formed the rear. With wonderful order and ſilence, and without any interruption,

tion, did the Spaniards march until they came to the firſt breach in the cauſeway. Here a portable wooden bridge, which Cortes had prepared, was laid over; but when the artillery and horſes had paſſed, it was wedged ſo cloſely into the ſtones that bordered the cauſeway, that it could not be removed, and there was yet another breach. But they were ſoon called from attending to this by a more preſſing danger; for, as nothing could elude the vigilance of the new emperor, he found out their intention of retreating, and diſpoſed all along the ſides of the cauſeway an infinite multitude of canoes, with orders to preſerve the greateſt ſilence, and not to attempt any thing until a ſignal was given. The darkneſs of the night favoured the ſcheme. And now, perceiving that the Spaniards were under ſome embarraſſment, the Mexicans took this advantage, and all at once, with great order, poured in their arrows; raiſing at the ſame time a moſt tremendous ſhout, ſwelled with the barbarous ſound of all their martial inſtruments of muſic.

The Spaniards were not wanting to themſelves, but behaved with ſignal bravery. It were needleſs, and almoſt impoſſible, to relate all the deſtruction of that horrid night. The Indians at firſt attacked in good order, but the firſt ranks being repulſed, and the diſtant canoes preſſing on to action, the whole attack was thrown into confuſion. The Indians drowned or ſlaughtered one another: however,

however, they ſtill preſſed on with untameable fury. Thouſands, impatient of the delay their remote ſituation cauſed them, leapt from their canoes, and, climbing up the cauſeway in the front where it was interrupted, broke in upon the Spaniards, with a torrent hardly reſiſtible. In vain this naked multitude was hacked to pieces by the Spaniſh ſwords, in vain were they tumbled upon one another by hundreds into the lake; new warriors ſucceeded thoſe that were killed, and the Spaniards, actually wearied out, were in danger of being wholly cut off; when, making one vigorous effort in the front, they happily cleared that poſt, and by a beam which they caſually met, they paſſed over one by one; or as ſome ſay, filling the intervals with the dead bodies of their enemies, they gained the main land. Cortes came over with the firſt, for in the confuſion of the night, their former order was in a good meaſure loſt, and took care as faſt as his men got over to form them, in order to ſecure the paſſage for the reſt. Then returning to thoſe who were behind, by his preſence and example, he animated them to renew the fight, and drawing up a part of his men on both ſides of the cauſeway, he ordered the reſt to file off from the center. In this manner the firſt light ſaw the Spaniards clear out of the city. Cortes halted at a ſmall diſtance, that thoſe whom the confuſion and the night had diſperſed, might

have an opportunity of rejoining the reſt o
the army.

Happily they were not purſued; for a
ſoon as the dawning light unveiled the fiel
of battle to the Mexicans, the poſſeſſion o
which they bought by ſuch a profuſion o
their own blood, they perceived among th
ſlain two ſons of Montezuma. Theſe wer
amongſt the priſoners, and were pierced b
the arrows of the Mexicans in the promi
cuous and undiſtinguiſhed carnage of th
preceding night.

For ſome time they were confounded an
ſtruck dumb with horror at this ſight; thei
ſentiments of loyalty returned; their mo
narch, almoſt their god, lately profaned b
their own violence! now their hands im
brued in the blood of his children! A gene
ral deadneſs and conſternation enſued. The
muſt not add to their impiety by neglecting
the obſequies due to the deceaſed. In th
mean time the Spaniards, favoured by thi
circumſtance, purſued their retreat withou
moleſtation. But this ſecurity laſted a ſhor
time: all the allies of the Mexicans, alread
in arms and divided into ſeveral flying par
ties, hung over the army of Cortes, an
harraſſed it without intermiſſion; they attack
ed him in front, in rear, in flank, by open
force, by ambuſcade, by ſurprize. Provi
ſion grew extremely ſcarce on his march
and now it was that Cortes ſhewed a firmneſ
under his loſſes, a vigilance againſt inceſſan

attack

ttacks ſo various in time and manner, and a ourage which enabled him to repulſe them, hich have been exceeded by nothing in iſtory.

The principle army of the Mexicans, hilſt he contended with ſuch difficulties om the flying parties, took another route, nd pouring in three columns into a plain, here their number might be of moſt avail, ey covered the whole of an extended val- y, which lay directly in his road to Tlaſ- la: this was called the valley of Otumba, hey concealed their purpoſes with all ima- inable care. To blind the Spaniards, they rdered ſeveral villages to give them a friend- reception. But Cortes did not ſuffer this relax his vigilance, not allowing himſelf be deceived by any appearances of friend- ip ſhewn by men, whoſe intereſt it was not be his friends; convinced, as he was, at a ſurprize, of all things, was indeed ve- prejudicial to the affairs of a general, but at it was mortal to his reputation. He ew indications of their ſentiments towards im, from the manners, the geſtures, and e countenances of thoſe he treated with in is march; and, perceiving that many ſhew- unuſual ſigns of content and exultation, e judged, not without reaſon, that it could ot be favourable to him.

He therefore diſpoſed every thing in ſuch manner as that his troops were neither diſ- rdered, nor his courage abated, when from an

an eminence they diſcovered the extended plains of Otumba darkened as far as the eye could reach with the myriads of their enemies. The Spaniards, animated by their ſuperiority in arms and their former victories, and the Tlaſcalans, by the preſence of ſuch allies and their hatred of the Mexican name, behaved with great bravery and ſucceſs; neither were the Mexicans inferior in animoſity and courage. But it was Cortes himſelf who determined the fortune of the day. Nothing he ever heard was either forgotten, or ſuffered to be an uſeleſs burthen upon his memory. He remembered to have heard from the Mexicans, that the fortune of the field with them ever followed that of the royal ſtandard.

This was a net of gold, elevated on a gilded ſtaff, and ſplendid with plumes of a thouſand colours. Great exigences alone brought it into the field, and it was entruſted to none but the care of the general who ſat on a chair ſumptuouſly adorned, and ſupported on mens ſhoulders in the center of the armies, to view the whole battle, to be a witneſs of the behaviour of all his troops, and to give orders as the occaſion required.

Cortes, pretending to make his principal effort in a quarter remote from the ſtandard, employed all his foot in that ſervice; but, heading the horſe himſelf with ſome of his braveſt officers, informing them of his deſign, and animating them with the hope

of a ſpeedy deciſion, he flung himſelf with fury againſt the part that ſeemed leaſt diſtant from the center. After diſperſing and overturning whole battalions, they penetrated to the choſen body of nobles, who guarded the general and ſtandard. Here the reſiſtance was greater, but it was ſoon overcome, and Cortes's own launce met the general, who was overthrown, and the ſtandard taken. All the other ſtandards were ſtruck directly, and the Mexicans fled every way which their fear and confuſion hurried them. They loſt twenty thouſand men in this battle, and a ſpoil infinite. This victory gave Cortes an undiſturbed paſſage to Tlaſcala, and a welcome reception amongſt his allies there.

Let us now turn our eyes to Mexico. No ſooner were the Spaniards departed, than Guatimozin ordered the city to be fortified in ſuch a manner as to ſecure himſelf againſt their entrance a third time. He found that a thouſand Tlaſcalans were killed in this retreat, upwards of two hundred Spaniards (the greateſt loſs they had yet in America,) and a great number of horſes. He cut off the heads of the Spaniards, and of their horſes, no leſs dreaded, and ſent them to all the neighbouring nations, as an infallible token of his victory; as a ſure proof that he was reſolved to keep no meaſures with the enemy, and to ſtir them up to their utter deſtruction. He ſucceeded ſo well, that numberleſs petty nations, well inclined to the

Spaniards, fell off, and many that were wavering, were confirmed in the Mexican intereſt. By this means ſeveral adventurers, that from the fame of Cortes had landed to join him, were cut to pieces before they gained his army. But the negociation to which Guatimozin bent all his force, was that with Tlaſcala, becauſe this was Cortes's chief ſtrength. He ſent large preſents, and ambaſſadors of ability, with excellent inſtructions, to detach them from the Spaniſh intereſt; who executed their commiſſion ſo well, that they cauſed a great diviſion in their favour in the councils of that republic. But Cortes, making his military exploits ſubſervient to his negociations, and his ſkill in negociation aſſiſtant to his exploits, baffled them at length with great addreſs, but not without great difficulty; and the Tlaſcalans were confirmed in his friendſhip.

Whilſt he ſtruggled with theſe difficulties, which nearly overpowered him, his old enemy, James Velaſquez, looking on the ſucceſs of Narvaez's expedition as a thing certain, ſent a ſhip to get intelligence of his proceedings, and about thirty men to reinforce him. The perſon who commanded at the port for Cortes, no ſooner ſaw the ſhip in the offing than he went on board her; and upon the captain's enquiry after Narvaez, he aſſured him he was well, and as ſucceſsful as he could wiſh. Not doubting this, the captain and his men landed, and were immediately made priſoners. Finding how

affairs

affairs were really circumſtanced, they admired the conqueror, commended the ſtratagem, and chearfully joined the army.

Much about the ſame time the governor of Jamaica, and he too a determined enemy of Cortes, ſent three ſhips with a ſmall body of troops, in hopes of tearing from him ſome part of his conqueſts. Theſe ſhips were diſperſed in a ſtorm, and were involved in many difficulties; but, what is ſingular, they all, though ſeparated, came to one and the ſame reſolution, which was, to revolt from the commander and join Cortes the moment they came on ſhore: ſo that the enemies of Cortes now no leſs than three times relieved him, by the very methods which they took to diſtreſs his affairs.

Cortes was not only fortunate, by being freed from the moſt terrible embarraſſments by the arrival of theſe ſuccours, which were never intended as ſuch; but much about the ſame time ſhips arrived from Spain, bringing, on the account of ſome private perſons, a reinforcement of men and military ſtores; and from the court an authentic approbation of his conduct, and a confirmation of his command.

Fortified with theſe, he yielded to the mutinous importunities of ſuch of his ſoldiers as were earneſt to depart; and, though he diminiſhed his numbers conſiderably by this ſtep, he judged it better to have a well-diſciplined army than a great one, and knew that little could be expected from men who

were

were dragged unwillingly to action; at the ſame time that their cowardice or ſedition would infect the reſt.

After the departure of the mutineers, he found he had ſtill above nine hundred Spaniſh foot, eighty-ſix horſe, and eighteen pieces of cannon. With theſe, and with the aſſiſtance of a vaſt body of Tlaſcalans, and allies of various nations, whom admiration and fear of Cortes, or hatred to the Mexicans had brought under his banner, he once more prepared to attack Mexico, which was the grand object of his undertakings. The city was ſo advantageouſly ſituated, and he knew at this time ſo well fortified, that nothing could be done without a force on the lake. To cut off their ſupplies, he ordered the materials of twelve brigantines to be got ready, in ſuch a manner as only to need being put together when they ſhould arrive at Mexico. Theſe were carried upon the ſhoulders of his Indian allies. His route to Mexico cannot be ſo much conſidered in the light of a march, as a continued train of ambuſcades and battles, ſome of which were fought with the moſt numerous armies, and with circumſtances not ſuited to the brevity of our purpoſe to relate. In all theſe he was ſucceſsful, though his enemies may be ſaid, with little exaggeration, to have diſputed with him every foot of ground between Tlaſcala and Mexico.

At laſt that city ſhewed itſelf, riſing from the midſt of a noble lake, ſurrounded with a number

number of moſt populous cities, as her attendants upon every ſide, and all ſubject to her power. The Spaniards, looking on this as their goal, revived their courage and forgot the difficulties of their march; and the Tlacalans, in perfect fury of military delight, wanted the ſteady hand of Cortes to reſtrain a courage, which he commended and kept alive by his example and words, whilſt he moderated its ardour.

Before he began the attack of Mexico, he ſpent ſome time in reducing all the neighbouring cities from which it might derive any ſuccour. He cut off the aqueducts which ſupplied Mexico with water, that of the lake being brackiſh; and he got ready his brigantines with all imaginable diligence, to cut off all relief from that quarter.

Whilſt his attention was wholly employed in the proſecution of the war, an old Spaniard, who had long ſerved, diſcovered to him a conſpiracy of the moſt dangerous nature. Antonio de Vilelana, a private ſoldier, but a man bold and deſperate in any bad purpoſe, and ſubtle in contriving it, had formed a conſpiracy with ſeveral others to kill Cortes and the principal perſons upon whom he relied, and then to return to Vera Cruz, from whence they might eaſily paſs to Cuba, and ſecure their pardon by the merit they ſhould make of this action with James Velaſquez.

They were urged to this reſolution by the fatigue of thoſe innumerable dangers and diffi-

difficulties they had paſſed, and by the diſpair of overcoming thoſe which yet lay before them; without conſidering that by this wicked action, they muſt rather produce new difficulties than overcome the old. Others of more conſequence were drawn in; and the conſpiracy had been ſo far formed, that the time and manner of killing the general was ſettled, and the perſon fixed upon whom they intended to devolve the command.

When Cortes was appriſed of this conſpiracy, without any hurry which might give notice that he had diſcovered it, yet, without loſing a moment to take advantage of the diſcovery, with four or five of his principal captains, he went directly to the quarters of Vileſana, who, aſtoniſhed at ſeeing him, made half his confeſſion by the fear he diſcovered. Cortes had him thrown immediately into irons; and then ordering every body to retire, he examined himſelf into all the particulars of the affair, and the names of the perſons concerned.

Vileſana made a full confeſſion, and ended it by producing a paper in vindication of their proceeding, which had been ſigned with the names of all the conſpirators. Cortes was not a little ſurprized to ſee amongſt them, the names of perſons upon whom he had great reliance. However, he diſſembled his concern, and ordered Vileſana to be immediately executed. He was ſhewn to all the army hanging by his tent door. Cortes informed none of the friends he moſt truſted

truſted with the paper he had received; but ſummoning the army, he gave them an account of the horrid conſpiracy that had been formed againſt his life; that he had puniſhed the perſon principally concerned; but that it was with ſatisfaction he was left ignorant of his accomplices, by the care the criminal took in deſtroying a paper, which he believed might have made great diſcoveries. For his part, as he had puniſhed, and was reſolved ſeverely to puniſh, any flagatious attempt againſt his life or authority, ſo he was determined to order both in ſuch a manner as to give juſt cauſe of complaint to no man; and if by any accident he had done ſo, he was ready to give him all reaſonable ſatisfaction. Proceeding thus, Cortes had the advantage of knowing who they were that wiſhed him ill; at the ſame time that they remained unappriſed of the diſcovery he had made, and endeavoured to prevent it by a more diligent performance of their duty: he now appointed a guard upon his perſon.

Hardly had Cortes ſuppreſſed this conſpiracy, and made the proper uſe of a baffled attempt againſt his authority, which was to ſtrengthen and increaſe it, than a difficulty of ſomething of a ſimilar nature engaged him, and from which he extricated himſelf with the ſame courage and prudence. The general of the Tlaſcalans, envying his glory, and perhaps fearful of the conſequence of the entire deſtruction of the Mexicans, though enemies to his own country, perſuaded a conſiderable

conſiderable body of the people to quit the Spaniſh camp.

Cortes immediately ordered him to be purſued. This general had formerly been an enemy to Cortes, and oppoſed him in the council of his nation; but when he ſaw the general current in his favour, he made a timely change, and came entirely into his intereſts. He had now relapſed, and was therefore not to be truſted any more. Cortes gave orders to thoſe who purſued him to put him to death. The Tlaſcalans who revolted were eaſily prevailed upon to return; and ſo dexterouſly did Cortes repreſent this affair, that neither the Tlaſcalans in his army, nor the republic, nor even the father himſelf of the general, condemned him for what he had done.

Theſe internal diſorders being compoſed he turned his fortitude and wiſdom againſt his open enemies. Three principal cauſeways led to the city, which three towns or ſuburbs defended upon the ſide of the continent. Within were trenches and barricadoes one behind another the whole length of the way. Cortes ordered three attacks upon theſe towns, and the cauſeways which they defended. The brigantines acted upon the water. Through the whole length of the ſiege, the bravery of the Mexicans, in defence of every thing which was dear to them was not more remarkable than the ingenuity by which they baffled the attacks of the Spaniards, and attacked them in their turn

On land, on water, by open force, by ſtratagem, by every method, they plied each other inceſſantly day and night. But the Spaniards, invincible under the command of Cortes, had the advantage ſo far, that with infinite ſlaughter they gained theſe poſts which ſecured the cauſeways upon the ſide of the country, at the ſame time that they cleared the lake ſo, that a canoe of the enemy did not dare to appear upon it.

Cortes gained theſe advantages, but he ſaw how dearly he had bought them; he reflected how it would tarniſh his glory to deſtroy ſo beautiful a city, and drench it in the blood of its unfortunate inhabitants; and, conſidering what ſupernatural exertions of ſtrength had been frequently ſhewn by a deſpairing people, in the laſt convulſive ſtruggle for their religion, life, and property, he made uſe of the advantages he had gained to recommend the terms of accommodation which he reſolved to ſend in to the beſieged. He required no more than the acknowledgment of the emperor of the Romans, and the confirmation of his right of ſucceeding ceded to him by Montezuma, and long acknowledged by the moſt authentic prophecies of the nation, and ſuch a ſecurity as might ſettle the performance of this.

Guatimozin, who had done all that bravery and military ſkill could perform to ſave his country, finding the means moſt ſuited to his years and inclinations unſucceſsful, though full of that noble pride which be-

comes and ſupports the royal character, was now as unwilling to ſave it by the milder and ſurer way of accommodation. But the prieſts, who had much influence in the council, either fearful of loſing their power, or through an honeſt, though blind zeal, denounced vengeance from their gods upon all who could think of ſubmiſſion, and promiſſed a certain ſucceſs to thoſe who ſtood up in defence of their religion. They had great weight; and the whole council, contrary to the opinion of the emperor, became unanimous in refuſing all terms.

Guatimozin, who yielded to the general ſentiment with regret, and ſaw the unhappy conſequence but too clearly, reſolved to fall with the ſame ſpirit that he had lived. "Then, (ſaid he,) ſince you are determined to hazard every thing, prepare to act in a manner worthy of that reſolution. Me, you ſhall never find wanting to you, or to myſelf. Theſe are the laſt good terms you are to expect. Whatever henceforward you demand through neceſſity, will be anſwered with pride and cruelty. Therefore, henceforward, let no man preſume to ſpeak of peace, be our exigencies what they will; the firſt that dares to do it ſhall certainly die, even the prieſts themſelves; they are moſt concerned to ſupport the oracles of their gods."

When he had ſaid this, with a ſtern and determined countenance, he went out of the aſſembly, and ordered the whole city under arms. Cortes, on the other ſide, as ſoon as

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he found that his propoſals were rejected, laid aſide all thoughts but thoſe of violence, and commanded a general aſſault to be made at the three cauſeways all at once, and to carry fire and ſword into the heart of the city. He himſelf commanded in the prinpal attack. The cauſeway was broken down before him, and the breach formed a ditch of ſixty feet wide. On the other ſide appeared a fortification of earth and planks. He ordered the brigantines to the ſide of the cauſeway, to favour the attack, and directing his cannon againſt the fortification, made ſo furious a fire that it was ſoon demoliſhed; and the defenders, galled by the inceſſant ſhot, which made a moſt terrible havock, could maintain the poſt no longer.

Cortes, under the fire of his cannon, and with the help of his brigantines, paſſed over the ditch, and loſt no time to poſſeſs himſelf of the other ſide, leaving one of his captains with a detachment to fill it up, and ſecure a retreat, in caſe it ſhould be found neceſſary. Then he advanced to attack the remaining barricadoes of the Mexicans, who made a brave defence. The battle raged furiouſly, and as the Spaniards gained ground, their dangers and loſſes grew every moment greater. They had now advanced amongſt the buildings, from whence they were oppreſſed with a mixt ſtorm of darts, arrows, ſtones, and boiling water. Before them ſtood a choſen body of Mexican ſoldiers, who made a reſolute ſtand. During this conflict, the

captain, who had been poſted to fill up the ditch, thinking it an inglorious employment to be employed as a pioneer whilſt his companions were in ſuch hot action, advanced with all his men, and deſerted the neceſſary work he was employed in.

No ſooner had Guatimozin, whoſe eyes were every where, perceived this motion, than he took advantage of it. He ordered thoſe who were in the front of the Spaniards to ſlacken their efforts; for as night came on faſt, he thought it better to allow the enemy to gain ſome ground, that he might fall on them with more advantage in their retreat. Cortes as quickly perceived this ſlackneſs, and the cauſe which produced it. He found that the breach of the cauſeway was adandoned, that night approached, and that there was little hope of a lodgment in the city at that time. He therefore began to retreat in the beſt order he could, ſetting fire to the houſes, that he might not be incommoded by them in his next attack. But ſcarcely was the retreat begun, when their ears were alarmed by the dreary ſound of the ſacred trumpet, ſo called becauſe it was permitted to the prieſts alone to ſound it; and that only when they animated the people on the part of their gods.

The ſound was doleful, continued, and ſtrong, inſpiring a contempt of death, and a dark religious fury. Immediately enſued a horrid cry, which reſounded from all parts; and this was followed by an attack of more

than

than common rage upon the arrear of the Spaniards, which was broke entirely, after a gallant and bloody ſtand. All order was now loſt. The general's commands were drowned in the cry and tumult of the fight; the Tlaſcalans, who were in the front, threw themſelves precipitately into the trench; ſome made a fruitleſs oppoſition, others attempted to gain the brigantines, whilſt the Mexicans on ſhore, in canoes, wading or ſwimming, upon every ſide, aſſaulted and ſlaughtered them with the moſt horrid cries, and a rage almoſt inconceivable.

With difficulty Cortes and ſome of his troops eſcaped on board the brigantines, wounded and defeated. A thouſand Tlaſcalans lay dead upon the cauſeway, many Spaniards, and ſcarce any eſcaped without a wound. What was the ſaddeſt circumſtance of all, forty were taken priſoners, of whoſe deſtiny there was no doubt. The other attacks had no better ſucceſs, though in them the loſs was not ſo conſiderable. The officer, whoſe imprudence had occaſioned this misfortune, came to Cortes, with tears acknowledging his crime, and deſiring to waſh it out with his blood; but Cortes, though rigid in his diſcipline, ſaw that this was no time to diſpirit the army with examples of ſeverity.

Night came on, but it brought no reſt to the afflicted Spaniards, ſince darkneſs could not conceal from them the triumph of the Mexicans, and the fate of their friends.

They ſaw the whole city ſhining with lights, and heard it reſounding with the diſſonance of barbarous muſic, and all the marks of an horrid joy. So great were the fires and illuminations, that they could ſee diſtinctly the men in motion, and all things preparing for the death of the priſoners, attended with the mortifying circumſtance, that they were to be ſacrificed to their falſe gods.

Cortes, in the midſt of all theſe calamitous circumſtances, which lay heavy about his heart, aſſumed an air of tranquility, endeavouring to comfort his ſoldiers with the hope of a timely revenge, and taking all neceſſary care that they ſhould not be attacked unawares. This care was neceſſary; for, before morning appeared, the Mexicans, elated with their late victory, and under the auſpices of thoſe gods whom they believed they had rendered propitious by the human blood which waſhed their altars, and animated by the ſound of the conſecrated trumpet, ſallied out to attack the Spaniards in their quarters. The attack was violent, but repelled at length with an incredible ſlaughter of the Mexicans.

Guatimozin was not diſheartened. He prepared for new aſſults, and had his ruined works repaired, to endure thoſe aſſaults which ſhould be made againſt himſelf. Not relying ſolely on force, he ſpread a report amongſt all the neighbouring nations that Cortes was killed; to them he ſent the heads of the Spaniards, who had been ſacrificed, informing

informing them, that the god of war, appeaſed by a ſacrifice ſo agreeable to him, had audibly declared in favour of the Mexicans, threatened vengeance on thoſe who reſiſted them, and foretold that in eight days time the Spaniards ſhould be all deſtroyed.

The credit of this oracle amongſt all the Indians, and the determinate time aſcertained for its completion, gave it the air of truth; for falſehood delights in general terms and equivocations, whereas the preciſe manner of ſpeaking truth, is one of the marks by which we gueſs at it. In fact, this ſtratagem had its effect; many tribes of Indians, who were upon the point of joining Cortes, embraced the Mexican intereſt; the more prudent ſuſpended their reſolution; but Guatimozin did not want emiſſaries even in the Spaniſh camp, who terrified the Indian allies with this prophecy. Even the Tlaſcalans were upon the point of deſerting him, when Cortes counteracted this ſtratagem in the wiſeſt manner poſſible. He reſolved to ſuſpend all manner of operations againſt the city for thoſe eight days, to demonſtrate the falſity of this oracle, and to hinder it from being ever again uſed as an inſtrument to work upon the credulity of his confederates. He prevailed upon the Tlaſcalans to wait the determination. In the mean time he ſtrongly fortified his camp.

Guatimozin was ſenſible that the effect of his policy muſt be weakened every day, and with that idea employed every hour of the

day

day or night to aſſault Cortes's camp, but always with ill ſucceſs. This great commander was always on his guard; and his troops, advantageouſly poſted, bid defiance to every thing of an Indian attack. At laſt the eight days expired, and with them the terror of the confederate Indians. The ſtratagem now operated as powerfully againſt thoſe who contrived it, inſomuch that all the neighbouring nations, before ſuſpended by the uncertain event of theſe mighty ſtruggles, declared in favour of Cortes, who by this fortunate turn in a little time found himſelf at the head of two hundred thouſand men.

This was the laſt hope of the Mexicans. All that followed was only the departing agony of that ſtate. The city was aſſaulted with redoubled vigour, and now, reduced by ſlaughters, fatigue, and famine, the Mexicans ſaw the ſuperior ſtar of Cortes gain the aſcendant. The town was penetrated upon all ſides, yet the beſieged defended every ſtreet; and their inceſſant ſhowers of darts and ſtones from the tops of the houſes, made the progreſs of the beſiegers ſlow and bloody. In this extremity, Guatimozin did every thing that could juſtify the hopes of the Mexicans when they called him to the throne, every thing that was worthy of one reſolved to die a king. But when he found that all hope of diſlodging the enemy was utterly at an end, his troops half famiſhed, exhauſted in numbers and in ſtrength, and no part tenable, he determined to leave the city

city to obtain the beſt terms it could from the conquerors, and to ſeek himſelf a more proſperous opportunity at a diſtance. For this purpoſe he renewed the treaty with the Spaniards, and took the opportunity of this ceſſation of arms to put himſelf and his family, with ſome of the braveſt and moſt faithful of his nobility, on board ſome periaguas, attempting to eſcape to the continent; but Cortes, apprehending this very thing, ſtationed his fleet in ſuch a manner, that he was intercepted, and ſoon out of a condition of making any defence.

He went on board the Spaniſh commander, with an air of dignity and compoſure, betraying neither fear nor ſurprize, and deſired no favour, but that the honour of his wife and her attendants might be ſpared. The Spaniſh captain attended but little to him, endeavouring to prevent the eſcape of the nobility; but Guatimozin deſired him not to be anxious about them. "Not one of theſe men will fly, ſays he: do not fear it, they are come to die at the feet of their ſovereign." The captain, admiring the conſtancy of the man, and the fidelity of his ſubjects, conducted him to Cortes. The ruins of the city of Mexico were now delivered up to the Spaniards. With it fell that empire, and the liberty of all the Indian nations, which filled that vaſt country now called New Spain, whoeither ſlid gradually from alliance to ſubjection, or defending themſelves

themſelves without ſucceſs, were made and treated as ſlaves.

The curioſity of the reader will doubtleſs be intereſted to know the fates of the captains of the conquering and conquered parties in this war. For ſome time the treatment of Guatimozin was ſuch as fitted an unfortunate brave man, in the hands of thoſe who could eſtimate virtue by other ſtandards than its fortune; and ſuch was his treatment, whilſt the authority of Cortes was ſufficient to protect him. But the infernal avarice of his troops, which at once excited and diſgraced their courage, not ſatisfied with the plunder of this opulent city, believed that there were ſome latent treaſures, within the knowledge of the emperor, which far exceeded all the reſt that they had yet poſſeſſed.

They often ſolicited the captive emperor with promiſes and threats to make a diſcovery, but to no purpoſe; at laſt a number of villains, Juan de Alderette at their head, a name deſerving to be remembered to its everlaſting infamy, ſeized upon him, and proceeding to the moſt abominable cruelty, laid him upon burning coals to extort a diſcovery of his wealth. But their wickedneſs could neither extort a diſcovery of his wealth, nor the ſatisfaction even of a declaration that he had none to diſcover. His countenance did not betray the leaſt yielding or weakneſs under the torture; ſome of his principal councellors ſuffered along with him, and with equal conſtancy. At laſt, one of thoſe

unhappy

unhappy men, overcome by the force of torments, almoſt ſuperior to human ſtrength, turned his eyes, fainting with anguiſh, upon his maſter, and uttered a doleful cry; but Guatimozin anſwered him only by ſaying, "Do you think I lie upon roſes?" The ſufferer, ſtruck dumb with theſe words, and ſtifling every murmur that might diſhearten the others or diſturb Guatimozin, expired in an act of obedience to his prince.

This wickedneſs was committed without the knowledge of Cortes. He was no ſooner appriſed of what was doing, than he ruſhed in upon the villains, and reſcued their prey, mangled as it was, from their further fury. However, this was but a ſhort reſpite. This prince, conſcious of his own dignity, and ſenſible of the baſe uſage he received, either endeavoured to ſtir up commotions, or was ſuſpected of ſuch a deſign; and Cortes, being obliged to ſubmit the humanity of his nature to the cruel neceſſity of politics, ordered him to be executed.

As for Cortes himſelf, neither his great ſucceſs, nor the vaſt treaſures which he ſent into Spain, could ſecure him from his enemies; by whoſe unwearied zeal for his ruin, he ſaw himſelf ſuperſeded in the government of a country, conquered by himſelf with ſo much toil and danger, and which in any other hands had never been effected. He died in Spain, having received a title and ſome other rewards from Charles the Vth, for whom he had acquired an empire; but by his own de-

fire

fire he was carried to Mexico, and buried there. It was the policy of Spain at that time to give great encouragement, and extenſive grants, to all adventurers; but when any great diſcovery was made, or conqueſt atchieved, they always ſent another to reap the benefit of the firſt adventurer's labours. This was a policy undoubtedly good with regard to one object, the ſecurity of the conquered country; but, like all unjuſt policy, it had altogether as ill an effect another way; the new governors, hungry and rapacious, and ſcarce conſidering the Indians as human creatures, murdered vaſt numbers of them; and, exhauſting them by an intolerable ſlavery, in hopes of a ſudden gain, they depopulated the country in ſuch a manner, as to abate very much the advantages which Spain might have derived from ſo extenſive a conqueſt. Cortes himſelf was not free from the imputation of cruelty; the biſhop of Chiapa, a good man, who was ſent purpoſely to make an enquiry into complaints of this kind, gives a very unfavourable repreſentation of his conduct, He accuſes him of having deſtroyed four millions of people in New Spain. It is certain, whether by his connivance or not, but partly by the neceſſity of war, and partly by the avarice and inſolence of the conquerors, vaſt numbers of the Indians periſhed: but, on the other hand, it appears that the biſhop of Chiapa was an enemy to Cortes; which, tho' a good man otherwiſe, muſt detract from his credit not a little, eſpecially as other hiſtorians differ from him in this point.

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

WEST-INDIES,

AND

AMERICAN ISLANDS.

Climate *and* Produce *of the* West Indies.

THE climate in all our Weſt-India iſlands is nearly the ſame, allowing for thoſe accidental differences which the ſeveral ſituations and qualities of the lands themſelves produce. As they lie within the tropic, and that the ſun goes quite over their heads, paſſing beyond them to the north, and never retires further from any of them than about thirty degrees to the South, they are continually ſubjected to the extreme of an heat, which would be intolerable, if the trade wind riſing gradually as the ſun gathers ſtrength

did not blow in upon them from the ſea, an refreſh them in ſuch a manner, as to enabl them to attend their concerns even under th meridian ſun. On the other hand, as th night advances, a breeze begins to be per ceived, which blows ſmartly from the land as it were from its center, towards the ſea to all points of the compaſs at once.

By the ſame remarkable providence in th diſpoſing of things it is, that, when the ſu has made a great progreſs towards the tropi of Cancer, and becomes in a manner vertical he draws after him ſuch a vaſt body of cloud as ſhield them from his direct beams; an diſſolving into rain, cool the air, and refre the country, thirſty with the long drought which commonly reigns from the beginnin of January to the latter end of May.

The rains in the Weſt-Indies are by n means the things they are with us. Our hea vieſt rains are but dews comparatively. The are rather floods of water, poured from th clouds with a prodigious impetuoſity; th rivers riſe in a moment; new rivers and lake are formed, and in a ſhort time all the lo country is under water. Hence it is, that th rivers, which have their ſource within th tropics, ſwell and overflow their banks at certain ſeaſon; and ſo miſtaken were the an cients in their idea of the torrid zone, whic they imagined to be dried and ſcorched u with a continual and fervent heat, and to b for that reaſon uninhabitable; when in re ality, ſome of the largeſt rivers in the worl

hav

ve their courſe within its limits, and the
oiſture is one of the greateſt inconveniencies
the climate in ſeveral places.

The rains make the only diſtinction of ſea-
ns in the Weſt-Indies; the trees are green
e whole year round; they have no cold,
frоſts, ſnows, and but rarely ſome hail;
e ſtorms of hail are however very violent
hen they happen, and the hailſtones very
eat and heavy.

Whether it be owing to this moiſture alone,
hich alone does not ſeem to be a ſufficient
uſe, or to a greater quantity of a ſulphu-
us acid, which predominates in the air in
is country, metals of all kinds that are ſub-
ct to the action of ſuch cauſes, ruſt and
nker in a very ſhort time; and this cauſe,
rhaps as much as the heat itſelf, contri-
tes to make the climate of the Weſt-Indies
friendly and unpleaſant to an European
onſtitution.

It is in the rainy ſeaſon, (principally in the
onth of Auguſt, more rarely in July and
ptember) that they are aſſaulted by hurri-
nes; the moſt terrible calamity to which
ey are ſubject from the climate: this de-
roys at a ſtroke the labours of many years,
roſtrates the moſt exalted hopes of the plan-
, and often, juſt at the moment when he
inks himſelf out of the reach of fortune.

It is a ſudden and violent ſtorm of wind,
in, thunder, and lightning, attended with
furious ſwelling of the ſeas, and ſometimes
th an earthquake; in ſhort, with every

circumſtance which the element can aſſemble that is terrible and deſtructive.

Firſt, they ſee as the prelude to the enſuing havock, whole fields of ſugar canes whirled into the air, and ſcattered over the face of the country. The ſtrongeſt trees of the foreſt are torn up by the roots, and driven about like ſtubble; their windmills are ſwept away in a moment; their works, the fixtures, the ponderous copper boilers, and ſtills of ſeveral hundred weight, are wrenched from the ground, and battered to pieces; their houſes are no protection, the roofs are torn off at one blaſt; whilſt the rain, which in an hour riſes five feet, ruſhes in upon them with an irreſiſtable violence.

There are ſigns, which the Indians of theſe iſlands taught our planters, by which they can prognoſticate the approach of an hurricane. The hurricane comes on either in the quarters, or at the full change of the moon. If it comes at the full moon, when you are at the change obſerve theſe ſigns. That day you will ſee the ſky very turbulent; you will obſerve the ſun more red than at other times; you will perceive a dead calm, and the hills clear of all thoſe clouds and miſts which uſually hover about them. In the clefts of the earth, and in the wells, you hear a hollow rumbling ſound like the ruſhing of a great wind. At night the ſtars ſeem much larger than uſual, and ſurrounded with a ſort of burs; the North-weſt ſky has a black and menacing look; the ſea emits a

ſtrong

rong ſmell, and riſes into vaſt waves, often ithout any wind; the wind itſelf now for- kes its uſual ſteady Eaſterly ſtream, and ifts about to the Weſt; from whence it metimes blows with intermiſſions violently nd irregularly for about two hours at a time. ou have the ſame ſigns at the full of the oon; the moon herſelf is ſurrounded with great bur, and ſometimes the ſun has the me appearance.

Theſe prognoſtics were taught by the In- ians; and in general one may obſerve, that gnorant country people and barbarous na- ons, are better obſervers of times and ſea- ons, and draw better rules from them, than nore civilized and reaſoning people; for hey rely more upon experience than theories, hey are more careful of traditionary obſer- ation, and living more in the open air at ll time, and not ſo occupied but they have eiſure to obſerve every change, though mi- nute, in that element, they come to have great treaſures of uſeful matter, though as it might be expected, mixed with many ſuper- ſtitious and idle notions as to the cauſes. Theſe make their obſervations to be rejected s chimerical in the groſs by many literati, who are not near ſo nice and circumſpect as hey ought to be in diſtinguiſhing what this ort of people may be very competent judges of, and what not.

The grand ſtaple commodity of the Weſt- Indies is ſugar; this commodity was not at all known to the Greeks and Romans, though it

was made in China in very early times, from whence we had the firſt knowledge of it; but the Portugueſe were the firſt who cultivated it in America, and brought it into requeſt as one of the materials of a very univerſal luxury in Europe.

It is not ſettled whether the cane from whichthis ſubſtance is extracted be a native of America, or brought thither by the Portugueſe from India and the coaſt of Africa; but, however the matter may be, in the beginning they made the moſt as they ſtill do of the beſt ſugars which come to market in this part of the world. The ſugar cane grows to the height of between ſix and eight feet, full of joints, about four or five inches aſunder; the colour of the body of the cane is yellowiſh, and the top, where it ſhoots into leaves, of a vivid green; the coat is pretty hard, and within contains a ſpongy ſubſtance, full of a juice, the moſt lively, elegant, and leaſt cloying ſweet in nature; and which, ſucked raw, has proved extremely nutritive and wholſome.

They are cultivated in this manner. In the month of Auguſt, that is, in the rainy part of the year, after the ground is cleared and well hoed, they lay a piece of ſix or ſeven joints of the cane, flat in a channel made for it, about half a foot deep; this they cover with the earth, and ſo plant the whole field in lines regularly diſpoſed and at proper diſtances. In a ſhort time a young cane ſhoots out from every joint of the ſtock which

was interred; and grows in twelve days to be a pretty tall and vigorous plant; but it is not until after ſixteen months, or thereabouts, that the canes are fit to anſwer the purpoſe of the planter, though they may remain a few months after without any conſiderable prejudice to him. The longer they remain in the ground after they are come to maturity, the leſs juice they afford; but this is ſomewhat compenſated by the ſuperior richneſs of the juice.

That no time may be loſt, they generally divide their cane-grounds into three parts. One is of ſtanding canes, and to be cut that ſeaſon; the ſecond is of new-planted canes; and the third a fallow, ready to receive a freſh ſupply. In ſome places they make ſecond and third cuttings from the ſame root. The tops of the canes, and the leaves which grow upon the joints, make very good provender for their cattle, and the refuſe of the cane after grinding ſerves for fire; ſo that no part of this excellent plant is without its uſe.

The canes are cut with a billet, and carried in bundles to the mill, which is now generally a windmill; it turns three great cylinders or rollers plated with iron ſet perpendicularly, and cogged ſo as to be all moved by the middle roller. Between theſe, the canes are bruiſed to pieces, and the juice runs through an hole into a vat which is placed under the rollers to receive it; from hence it is carried through a pipe into a reſervoir, in which however, for fear of turning ſour,

it

it is not ſuffered to reſt long; but is conveyed out of that by other pipes into the boiling-houſe, where it is received by a large cauldron: here it remains, until the ſcum, which conſtantly ariſes during the boiling, is all taken off; from this, it is paſſed ſucceſſively into five or ſix more boilers, gradually diminiſhing in their ſize, and treated in the ſame manner. In the laſt of theſe it becomes of a very thick clammy conſiſtence; but mere boiling is incapable of carrying it further: to advance the operation, they pour in a ſmall quantity of lime-water; the immediate effect of this alien mixture is, to raiſe up the liquor in a very vehement fermentation; but, to prevent it from running over, a bit of butter, no larger than a nut is thrown in, upon which the fury of the fermentation immediately ſubſides; a veſſel of two or three hundred gallons requires no greater force to quiet it. It is now taken out and placed in a cooler, where it dries, granulates, and becomes fit to be put into the pots, which is the laſt part of the operation.

The pots are conical, or of a ſugar-loaf faſhion, open at the point, which muſt be conſidered as their bottom; here a ſtrainer is put acroſs. In theſe pots the ſugar purges itſelf of its remaining impurity; the molaſſes or treacly part diſentangles itſelf from the reſt, precipitates and runs out of the aperture at the bottom; it is now in the condition called muſcavado ſugar, of a yellowiſh brown

brown colour, and thus it is generally put into the hogſhead and ſhipped off.

When they have a mind to refine it yet further, and leave no remains at all of the molaſſes, they cover the pots we have juſt mentioned with a ſort of white clay, like that uſed for tobacco pipes, diluted with water; this penetrates the ſugar, unites with the molaſſes, and with them runs off, leaving the ſugar of a whitiſh colour, but whiteſt at top. This is called clayed ſugar; the operation is ſometimes repeated once or twice more, and the ſugar every time diminiſhing in quantity gains conſiderably in value; but ſtill is called clayed ſugar. Further than this they do not go in the plantations, becauſe an heavy duty of ſixteen ſhillings per hundred weight is laid upon all ſugars refined there; it is therefore not to our purpoſe to carry the account any further.

Of the molaſſes, rum is made, in a manner that needs no deſcription, ſince it differs in nothing from the manner of diſtilling any other ſpirit. From the ſcummings of the ſugar, a meaner ſpirit is procured. Rum finds its market in North America (where it is conſumed by the Engliſh inhabitants, or employed in the Indian trade, or diſtributed from thence to the fiſhery of Newfoundland, and the African commerce) beſides what comes to England and Ireland. However, a very great quantity of molaſſes is taken off raw, and carried to New England to be diſtilled there. They compute, that when

things

things are well managed, the rum and molaſſes pay the charges of the plantation, and the ſugars are clear gain.

The expences of a plantation in the Weſt-Indies are very great, and the profits at the firſt view precarious; for the chargeable articles of a windmill, the boiling, cooling, and diſtilling houſes, and the buying and ſubſiſting a ſuitable number of ſlaves and cattle, will not ſuffer any man to begin a ſugar plantation of any conſequence, not to mention the purchaſe of the land, which is very high, under a capital of at leaſt five thouſand pounds. Neither is the life of a planter a life of idleneſs and luxury; at all times he muſt keep a watchful eye upon his overſeers, and even overſee himſelf occaſionally. But at the boiling ſeaſon, if he is properly attentive to his affairs, no way of life can be more laborious, and more dangerous to the health; from a conſtant attendance day and night in the extreme united heats of the climate and ſo many fierce furnaces; add to this, the loſſes by hurricanes, earthquakes, and bad ſeaſons; and then conſider, when the ſugars are in the caſk, that he quits the hazard of a planter, to engage in the hazards of a merchant, and ſhips his produce at his own riſk. The ſum of all might make one believe, that it could never anſwer to engage in this buſineſs; but, notwithſtanding all this, there are no parts of the world, in which great eſtates are made in ſo ſhort a time as in the Weſt-Indies.

JAMAICA.

JAMAICA.

HAVING already given a general idea of the climate and produce of the West-Indies, we shall now proceed to describe the island of Jamaica, which lies between the seventy fifth and seventy ninth degrees of West longitude from London, and is between seventeen and nineteen degrees distant from the Equinoctial. It is in length, from East to West, a hundred and forty English miles; in breadth about sixty, and of an oval form.

This country is in a manner intersected with a ridge of lofty mountains, rugged and rocky, that are called the Blue Mountains. On each side of the Blue Mountains are chains of lesser mountains, gradually lower. The greater mountains are little better than so many rocks; where there is any earth, it is only a stubborn clay fit for no sort of husbandry. The mountains are very steep, and the rocks tumbled upon one another in a manner altogether stupendous, the effect of the frequent earthquakes which have shaken this island in all times. Yet, barren as these mountains are, they are all covered to the very top with a great variety of beautiful trees, flourishing in a perpetual spring; their roots penetrate the crannies of the rocks, and search out the moisture which is lodged there by the rains that fall so frequently on these

mountains,

mountains, and the mists that almost perpetually brood upon them. These rocks too are the parents of a vast number of fine rivulets, which tumble down their sides in cataracts, that form, amongst the rudeness of the rocks and precipices, and the shining verdure of the trees, the most wildly-pleasing imagery imaginable.

The face of this country is a good deal different from what is generally observed in other places. For as on one hand the mountains are very steep; so the plains between them are perfectly smooth and level. In these plains, the soil, augmented by the wash of mountains for so many ages, is prodigiously fertile. None of our islands produce so fine sugars.

They formerly had here cacao in perfection, which delights in a rich ground. Their pastures after the rains are of a most beautiful verdure, and extraordinary fatness: They are called *savannas*. On the whole, if this island were not troubled with great thunders and lightnings, hurricanes and earthquakes; and, if the air was not at once violently hot, damp, and extremely unwholesome in most parts, the fertility and beauty of this country would make it as desireable a situation for pleasure, as it is for the profits which in spite of these disadvantages draw hither such a number of people.

The river waters are many of them unwholsome and taste of copper; but some springs there are of a better kind. In the plain

lains are found several salt fountains; and
n the mountains, not far from Spanish-town,
a hot bath, of extraordinary medicinal
irtues. It relieves in the dry belly-ach,
ne of the most terrible endemial distempers
Jamaica, and in various other complaints.
This island came into our possession during
e usurpation of Cromwell, and by means
an armament which had another destina-
on. Cromwell, notwithstanding the great
bilities which enabled him to overturn the
nstitution, and to trample upon the liber-
s of his country, was not sufficiently ac-
uainted with foreign politics. This igno-
nce made him connect himself closely with
rance, then rising into a dangerous grandeur,
d to fight with great animosity the shadow
hich remained of the Spanish power. On
ch ideas he fitted out a formidable fleet,
th a view to reduce the island of Hispa-
ola; and, though he failed in this design,
maica made amends not only for this fai-
e, but almost for the ill policy which first
w him into hostilities with the Spaniards;
which, however, he added this excellent
untry to the British dominions.

There was nothing of the genius of Crom-
ll to be seen in the planning of this ex-
dition. From the first to the last, all was
ong; all was a chain of little interested
management, and had no air of the result
absolute power lodged in great hands.
e fleet was ill victualled, the troops ill
vided with necessaries, to support and en-

courage men, badly chosen, and worse armed. They embarked in great discontent, the generals were but little better satisfied, and had little more hopes, than the soldiers. But the generals (for there were two in the command, Penn and Venables, one for the marine, the other for the land service) were men of no extraordinary talents: And, if they had been men of the best capacity, little was to be expected from two commanders not subordinate, and so differing in their ideas, and so envious of each other, as land and sea-officers generally are.

To make this arrangement perfect in all respects, and to prove the advantages arising from a divided command, they added a number of commissioners as a check upon both. This tripartite generalship, in the truest Dutch taste, produced the effects that might be expected from it. The soldiers differed with the generals, the generals disagreed with one another, and all quarrelled with the commissioners. The place of the landing in Hispaniola was ill chosen, and the manner of it wretchedly contrived. The army had near forty miles to march before it could act; and the soldiers, without order, without heart, fainting and dying with the excessive heat of the climate, and for want of necessary provisions, and disheartened yet more by the cowardice and discontent of their officers, yielded an easy victory to an handful of Spaniards.

They retired ignominiously and with great
s, but the principal commanders, a little
conciled by their misfortunes, and fearing
return to England without effect, very
sely turned their thoughts another way.
ey resolved to attempt Jamaica, before
e inhabitants of that island could receive
couragement by the news of their defeat
Hispaniola. They knew that this island
s in no good posture of defence; and they
themselves vigorously to avoid the mis-
kes, which proved so fatal in the former
pedition. They severely punished the of-
ers who had shewn an ill example by their
wardice; and they ordered, with respect
the soldiers, that if any attempted to run
ay, the man nearest to him should shoot
m.

Fortified with these regulations, they lan-
d in Jamaica, and laid siege to St. Jago
la Vega, now called Spanish-Town, the
pital of the island. The people, who were
no condition to oppose an army of ten
ousand men and a strong naval force, would
ave surrendered immediately, if they had
ot been encouraged by the strange delays
our generals and their commissioners.
owever, at last, the town with the whole
land surrendered, but not until the inha-
tants had secreted their most valuable ef-
cts in the mountains.

It was not long after the Restoration, when
e Spaniards ceded the island to our court.
romwell had settled there some of the troops

employed in its reduction; ſome royaliſts uneaſy at home, ſought an aſylum in this iſland; not a few planters from Barbadoes were invited to Jamaica by the extraordinary fertility of the ſoil, and the other advantages it offered.

Theſe latter taught the former ſettlers the manner of raiſing the ſugar cane, and making ſugar; for at firſt they had wholly applied themſelves to the raiſing of cacao, as the Spaniards had done before them. It was happy for them that they fell into this new practice; for the cacao-groves planted by the Spaniards began to fail, and the new plantations did not anſwer, as the negroes foretold they would not, becauſe of the want of certain religious ceremonies always uſed by the Spaniards in planting them, at which none of the ſlaves were ſuffered to be preſent, and to the uſe of which they attributed the proſperity of theſe plantations.

Probably there were methods taken at that time, that were covered by the veil of theſe religious ceremonies, which are neceſſary to the well-being of that plant. However that be, the cacao has never ſince equalled the reputation of the Spaniſh, but gave way to the more profitable cultivation of indigo and ſugar. But what gave the greateſt life to this new ſettlement, and raiſed it at once to a ſurprizing pitch of opulence, which it hardly equals even in our days, was the reſort thither of thoſe pirates called the Buccaneers.

Theſe

These men, who fought with the most desperate bravery, and spent their plunder with the most stupid extravagance, were very welcome guests in Jamaica. They often brought two, three, and four hundred thousand pieces of eight at a time, which were immediately squandered in all the ways of excessive gaming, wine and women. Vast fortunes were made, and the returns of treasure to England were prodigiously great. In the island they had by this means raised such funds, that, when the source of this wealth was stopped up by the suppression of the pirates, they were enabled to turn their industry into better channels.

They increased so fast, that it was computed that, in the beginning of this century, they had sixty thousand whites, and a hundred and twenty thousand negroes in this island. This calculation is certainly too large. However, the Jamaicans were undoubtedly very numerous until reduced by earthquakes (one of which entirely ruined Port-Royal, and killed a vast number of persons in all parts of the country) and by terrible epidemical diseases, which, treading on the heels of the former calamities, swept away vast multitudes: losses which have not been since sufficiently repared. At present, the white inhabitants scarcely exceed twenty-five thousand souls; the blacks are about ninety thousand; but much less numerous than formerly, and with a disproportion much greater on the side of the whites.

It appears at present, that Jamaica is rather upon the decline; a point this, that deserves the most attentive consideration. A country which contains at least four millions of acres, has a fertile soil, an extensive sea-coast, and many very fine harbours; for an island so circumstanced, and at a time when the value of all its products at market is considerably risen; for such a country to fall short of its former numbers, and not to have above three or four hundred thousand acres employed in any sort of culture, shews clearly that something must be very wrong in the management of its affairs; and, what shews it even yet more clearly, land is so extravagantly dear in many of the other islands, as to sell sometimes for an hundred pounds an acre and upwards; a price that undoubtedly never would be paid, if convenient land was to be had, and proper encouragement given in Jamaica.

We shall now enquire into the natural products of this island, which, besides sugar, cacao, and ginger, are principally piemento, or as it is called, all-spice, or Jamaica pepper.

The tree which bears the piemento, rises to the height of above thirty feet. It is strait, of a moderate thickness, and covered with a grey bark extremely smooth and shining. It shoots out a vast number of branches upon all sides, that bear a plentiful foliage of very large and beautiful leaves of a shining green, in all things resembling the leaf

af of the bay-tree. At the very ends of
e twigs are formed bunches of flowers;
ch ſtalk bearing a flower which bends
ck, and within which bend are to be
ſcerned ſome ſtamina of a pale green co-
ur; to theſe ſucceeds a bunch of ſmall
owned berries, larger when ripe than juni-
r berries; at that ſeaſon they change
om their former green, and become black,
ooth, and ſhining; they are taken unripe
om the tree, and dried in the ſun; in this
ſe they aſſume a brown colour, and have a
ixed flavour of many kinds of ſpice, whence
s called all-ſpice. But it is milder than
e other ſpices, and is judged to be inferior
none of them for the ſervice which it does
cold, watery, and languid ſtomachs,
e tree grows moſtly upon the mountains.
Beſides this, they have the wild cinnamon
e, whoſe bark is ſo ſerviceable in medi-
e; the machineel, a moſt beautiful tree to
eye, with the faireſt apple in the world,
when cut down affords a very fine orna-
ntal wood for the joiners; but the tree
ntains one of the worſt poiſons in nature.
Here is the mahogany, in ſuch general
with our cabinet makers; the cabbage
e, a tall plant, famous for a ſubſtance,
king and taſting like cabbage, growing on
very top, and no leſs remarkable for the
reme hardneſs of its wood, which, when
, is incorruptible, and hardly yields to
tool; the palma, from which is drawn a
at deal of oil, much eſteemed by the ne-

groes

groes both in food and medicine; the white wood, which never breeds the worms in ſhips; the ſoap tree, whoſe berries anſwer all purpoſes of waſhing; the mangrove and olive bark, uſeful to tanners; the fuſtic and redwood to the dyers, and lately the logwood; and their foreſts ſupply the apothecary with guaiacum, ſarſaparilla, china, caſſia, and tamarinds; they have aloes too, and do not want the cochineal plant, though they know nothing of the art of managing it; nor perhaps is the climate ſuitable. The indigo plant was formerly much cultivated; the cotton tree is ſtill ſo, and they ſend home more of its wool than all the reſt of our iſlands together. The rum of this iſland is generally eſteemed the beſt, and is the moſt uſed in England.

Formerly we cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, on the northern ſide of the peninſula of Jucatan. But the Spaniards have driven our people entirely from thence and built forts and made ſettlements to prevent them from returning. Expelled from thence, the logwood cutters ſettled upon the gulf of Honduras, on the ſouthern ſide of the ſame peninſula, where they are in ſome ſort eſtabliſhed, and have a fort to protect them. They are an odd kind of people compoſed moſtly of vagabonds and fugitives from all parts of North America, and their way of life is ſuitable. They live pretty much in a lawleſs manner, though they elect one amongſt them whom they call the king

ing; and to him they pay as much obe-
ience as they think fit. The country they
re in is low, and extremely marshy; the
r is prodigiously molested with muskettoes,
nd the waters dangerous with alligators;
et a life of licentiousness, a plenty of bran-
y, large gains, and a want of thought,
ave perfectly reconciled them to the hard-
ips of their employment and the unwhol-
omness of the climate. They go always
ell armed, and are about one thousand five
undred men.

In the dry season, when they cut the log-
ood, they advance a considerable way into
e country, following the logwood, which
ns amongst the other trees of the forest,
ke the vein of a mineral in the earth.
hen the rains have overflowed the whole
untry, they have marks by which they
now where the logwood is deposited. This
an heavy wood, and sinks in the water.
owever, it is easily buoyed up, and one
ver can lift very large beams. These they
rry by the favour of the land-floods into
e river, to a place which is called the Bar-
deras, or Port, where they meet the ships
at come upon this trade.

But there was a trade yet more profitable
rried on between this island and the Spa-
h continent, especially in time of war.
he trade was carried on in this manner.
he ships from Jamaica, having taken in ne-
oes and a proper sortment of goods there,
oceeded in time of peace to a harbour called

the

the Grout, within Monkey-key, about four miles from Porto-bello. A perſon, who underſtood Spaniſh, was directly ſent aſhore to give the merchants of the town notice of the arrival of the veſſel; the ſame news was carried likewiſe with great ſpeed to Panama; from whence the merchants ſet out diſguiſed like peaſants with their ſilver in jars covered with meal, to deceive the officers of the revenue.

Here the ſhips remained, trading frequently for five or ſix weeks together. The Spaniards uſually came on board, left their money, and took their negroes, and their goods packed up in parcels fit for one man to carry, after having been handſomely entertained on board, and receiving proviſions ſufficient for their journey homeward. If the whole cargo was not diſpoſed of here, they bore off eaſtward to the Brew, a harbour about five miles diſtant from Carthagena, where they ſoon found a vent for the reſt. There was no trade more profitable than this; for payments were made in ready money, and the goods ſold higher than they would at any other market.

It was not on this coaſt only, but every where upon the Spaniſh main, that this trade was carried on; nor was it by the Engliſh only; but the French from Hiſpaniola, the Dutch from Curaſſou, and even the Danes have ſome ſhare in it.

Both

Both the logwood and contraband trade have been the subject of much contention, and the cause of a war between Great Britain and the Spanish nation. The former was always avowed, and claimed as our right, and was at the last peace confirmed to us. The latter we permitted; because we very justly thought, that if the Spaniards found themselves agrieved by any contraband trade, it lay upon them, and not upon us, to put a stop to it by their guarda costas, which cruize in those seas, purposely to seize and confiscate such vessels and cargoes as are found in this trade. In this manner did the British court argue, till that *fatal* period, when, in compliance with the court of Spain, English cruizers were sent more effectually to crush that lucrative trade, of which the whole body of British subjects in America complained, as it put a stop to the principal channel, which hitherto enabled them to make such large remittances to Great Britain. This laid the foundation of the present unhappy differences between Great Britain and the colonies; but of this we shall say more hereafter.

The whole island of Jamaica is divided into nineteen districts or parishes, which send each of them two members to the assembly, and allow a competent maintenance to a minister.

Port-Royal was anciently the capital of the island; it stood upon the very point of a long narrow neck of land, which, towards the

the sea, formed part of the border of a very noble harbour of its own name. In this harbour above a thousand sail of the largest ships could anchor with the greatest convenience and safety; and the water was so deep at the key of Port-Royal, that vessels of the greatest burden could lay their broadsides to the wharfs, and load and unload at little expence or trouble.

This conveniency weighed so much with the inhabitants, that they chose in this spot to build their capital, though the place was an hot dry sand, which produced not one of the necessaries of life, no not even fresh water. However, this advantageous situation and the resort of the pirates, soon made it a very considerable place. It contained two thousand houses very handsomely built, and which rented as high as those in London. It had a resort like a constant fair, by the great concourse of people of business, and grew to all this in about thirty years time; for before that there was scarcely an house upon the place. In short, there were very few places in the world, which for the size could be compared to this town for trade, wealth, and an entire corruption of manners.

It continued thus untill the 9th of June 1692, when an earthquake, which shook the whole island to its foundations, overwhelmed this city, and left, in one quarter not even the smallest vestige remaining. In two minutes, the earth opened and swallowed

up nine tenths of the houſes, and two thouſand people. The water guſhed out from the openings of the earth, and tumbled the people on heaps; but ſome of them had the good fortune to catch hold of beams and rafters of houſes, and were afterwards ſaved by boats. Several ſhips were loſt in the harbour, and the Swan frigate, which lay in the dock to careen, was carried over the tops of ſinking houſes, and did not overſet, but afforded a retreat to ſome hundreds of people, who ſaved their lives upon her. An officer, who was in the town at this time, ſays, the earth opened and ſhut very quick in ſome places, and he ſaw ſeveral people ſink down to the middle, and others appeared with their heads juſt above ground, and were ſqueezed to death. At Savannah, above a houſand acres were ſunk, with the houſes and people in them; the place appearing for ſome time like a lake, was afterwards dried up, but no houſes were ſeen. In ſome parts, mountains were ſplit, and at one place, a plantation was removed to the diſtance of a mile.

They rebuilt this city after the earthquake, but it was again deſtroyed. A terrible fire laid it in aſhes about ten years after. Notwithſtanding this, the extraordinary convenience of the harbour tempted them to rebuild it once more. But in the year 1722 a hurricane, one of the moſt terrible on record, reduced it a third time to a heap of

rubbish. Warned by these extraordinary calamities, that seemed to mark out this place as a devoted spot, by an act of assembly they removed the custom-house and public offices from thence, and forbid that any market should be held there for the future.

The principal inhabitants came to reside at the opposite side of the bay, at a place which is called Kingston. This town is advantageously situated for fresh water, and all manner of accommodations. The streets are of a commodious wideness, regularly drawn, and cutting each other at equal distances and right angles. It consists of upwards of one thousand houses, many of them handsomely built, though low, with porticoes, and every conveniency for a comfortable habitation in that climate. The harbour was formerly in no good posture of defence; but by the care of Mr. Knowles, while governor, it is now strongly fortified.

The river Cobre, a considerable, but not navigable stream, falls into the sea not far from Kingston. Upon the banks of this river stands St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish-town; the seat of government, and the place where the courts of justice are held, and consequently the capital of Jamaica, though inferior in size and resort to Kingston.

However, this, though a town of less business, has more gaiety. Here reside

man

many persons of large fortunes, and who make a figure proportionable; the number of coaches kept here is very great; here is a regular assembly, and the residence of the governor and the principal officers of the government, who have all very profitable places, ostentatious and expensive, to make it a very splendid and agreeable place.

Mr. Knowles, late governor, made an attempt to remove the seat of government from hence to Kingston, for reasons which, it must be owned, have a very plausible appearance; for it would certainly facilitate the carrying on of business, to have the courts of justice and the seat of government as near as possible to the center of commercial affairs. But whether the consideration of a more healthful situation; the division of the advantages of great towns with the several parts of the country, and the mischief that might arise from shaking the settled order of things, and prejudicing the property of a great many private people, can weigh against the advantages proposed by this removal, we will not undertake to determine.

One thing appears very plainly in the contest which this regulation produced; that the opposition was, at least, as much to the governor as to the measure; and that great natural warmth of temper upon all sides, enflamed and envenomed by a spirit of party which reigns in all our plantations, kindled

a flame about this, which, if it had not happened, muſt have riſen to the ſame height upon ſome other occaſion, ſince there was a plenty of combuſtible materials ready upon all ſides.

The government of this iſland is, next to that of Ireland, the beſt in the king's gift. The ſtanding ſalary is two thouſand five hundred pounds a year. The aſſembly vote the governor as much more; and this with the other great profits of his office, make it in the whole little inferior to ten thouſand pounds a year.

BARBADOES.

THE next iſland, in point of importance, which we poſſeſs in the Weſt-Indies, but the oldeſt in point of ſettlement, is Barbadoes. This is one, and by no means the moſt contemptible one, amongſt the windward diviſion of the Caribbee iſlands. It is ſituated in fifty-nine degrees weſt longitude, and thirteen degrees north latitude, being twenty-one miles in length, and fourteen in breadth.

It is not diſtinctly known when this iſland was firſt diſcovered or ſettled; but it was probably ſome time about the year 1625. When the Engliſh firſt landed here, they found the place the moſt ſavage and deſtitute that can well be imagined. It had not the leaſt ap-

pearance

pearance of ever having been peopled, even by ſavages. There was no kind of beaſts of paſture or of prey, no fruit, no herb, nor root fit for ſupporting the life of man. Yet as the climate was good, and the ſoil appeared fertile, ſome gentlemen of ſmall fortunes in England reſolved to become adventurers thither. But the firſt planters had not only the utter deſolateneſs of the place, and the extreme want of proviſions to ſtruggle with, but the trees were ſo large, of a wood ſo hard and ſtubborn, and full of ſuch great branches, that they proceeded in the clearing of the ground with a difficulty that muſt have worn down any ordinary patience. And even when they had tolerably cleared ſome little ſpot, the firſt produce it yielded for their ſubſiſtence was ſo ſmall and ordinary, at the ſame time that their ſupplies from England were ſo ſlow and precarious, that nothing but the nobleſt courage, and a firmneſs which cannot receive too many praiſes, could have carried them through the diſcouragements which they met in the nobleſt work in the world, the cultivating and peopling a deſerted part of the globe. But by degrees things were molified; ſome of the trees yielded fuſtic for the dyers; cotton and indigo agreed well with the ſoil; tobacco then becoming faſhionable in England, anſwered tolerably; and the country began gradually to lay aſide its ſavage diſpoſition, and to ſubmit to culture.

The ſtorm which ſome time after began to gather in England, and America affording ſuch appearances, encouraged many to go over; but ſtill the colony received no ſort of encouragement from the government, which at that time underſtood the advantages of colonies but little; and which was beſides much worſe occupied in ſowing thoſe ſeeds of bitterneſs, which came afterwards ſo terribly to their own lips.

The court took no other notice of this iſland than to grant it to a very unworthy and unfaithful favourite, the earl of Carliſle; which, as may be judged, proved of no advantage to the ſettlement. However, as this colony had the hardieſt breeding, and the moſt laborious infancy of any of our ſettlements, ſo it was far ſtronger in its ſtamina, and grew with greater ſpeed; and that to an height, which, if it were not proved beyond any reaſonable doubt, could ſcarcely be believed. For in this ſmall iſland, in little more than twenty years after its firſt ſettlement, that is, in 1650, it contained upwards of fifty thouſand whites of all ſexes and ages, and a much greater number of blacks and Indian ſlaves. The former of which ſlaves they bought; the latter they acquired by means not at all to their honour; for they ſeized upon thoſe unhappy men, without any pretence, in the neighbouring iſlands, and carried them into ſlavery.

This ſmall iſland, peopled by upwards of one hundred thouſand ſouls, was not yet

above

above half of it cultivated, nor was the industry of the inhabitants at a stand. A little before the period we have mentioned, they learned the method of making sugar; and this enlarging the sphere of their trade, they grew prodigiously rich and numerous.

About this time the government in England, which was then in the hands of Cromwell, confined the trade of Barbadoes to the mother country; before, it had been managed altogether by the Dutch. Their rigour exercised towards the royal party, obliged several gentlemen of very good families to settle in this island, which was far from being peopled like some other colonies, by fugitives and persons desperate at home. After the Restoration it continued still to advance by very hasty strides, Not long after the Restoration, king Charles created thirteen baronets from the gentlemen of this island, some of whom were worth ten thousand pounds a year, and none so little as one thousand.

In 1676, which was the meridian of this settlement, their whites were computed to still much about fifty thousand, but their negro slaves were increased so as to be upwards of one hundred thousand of all kinds, They employed four hundred sail of ships, one with another of an hundred and fifty tons, in in their trade; their annual exported produce in sugar, indigo, ginger, cotton, &c. amounted to upwards of three hundred and fifty

fifty thousand pounds, and their circulating cash at home was two hundred thousand.

It is probable that Holland itself, or perhaps even the best inhabited parts of China, were never peopled to the same proportion, nor have they land of the same dimensions, which produces any thing like the same profits. But since that time the island has been much upon the decline. The growth of the French sugar islands and the settlement of Antigua, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, as well as the greater establishment in Jamaica, have drawn away from time to time a vast number of their people.

A terrible contagion, said to be brought over by the troops from England, but more probably derived from the coast of Africa, attacked this island in the year 1692; it raged like a pestilence; twenty died in a day in their principal town, and all parts of the island suffered in proportion. This sickness continued, with some abatements for several years, and left an ill disposition in the climate ever afterwards.

War raged at the same time with this distemper; and the Barbadians, who raised a good number of men, lost many of them in fruitless expeditions against the French islands. The land too began not to yield quite so kindly as it formerly had done, and in some places they were obliged to manure it. All these causes contributed to reduce the number and opulence of this celebrated

island.

island. But it is only in comparison of itself that it may be considered in any other than the most flourishing condition, even at this day; for even now it contains twenty-five thousand whites, very near eighty thousand negroes, and it ships above twenty-five thousand hogsheads of sugar, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds, besides rum, molasses, cotton, ginger, and aloes: an immense peopling and produce for a country not containing more than one hundred thousand acres of land.

This island can raise near five thousand men of its own militia, and it has generally a regiment of regular troops, though not very complete. It is fortified by nature all along the windward shore by the rocks and shoals, so as to be near two thirds utterly inaccessible. On the leeward side it has good harbours; but the whole coast is protected by a line of several miles in length, and several forts to defend it at the most material places.

They support their own establishment, which is very considerable, with great credit. The governor's place is worth at least five thousand pounds a year, and the rest of their officers have valuable appointments. They provide very handsomely for their clergy, who are of the church of England, which is the religion established here, as it is in the other islands. Here are very few dissenters.

There

There is in general an appearance of something more of order and deceney, and of a ſettled people, than in any other colony in the Weſt-Indies. They have here a college, founded and well endowed by the virtue and liberality of that great man colonel Chriſtopher Codringſon, who was a native of this iſland, and who for a great number of amiable and uſeful qualities, both in public and private life, for his courage, and the zeal for the good of his country, his humanity, his knowledge and love of literature, was far the richeſt production and moſt ſhining ornament this iſland ever had. This college is in Bridge-town, the capital of this iſland, which, before it was diminiſhed by fire, contained about twelve hundred houſes, very handſomely built and inhabited by a numerous and wealthy people.

The country of Barbadoes has a moſt beautiful appearance, ſwelling here and there into gentle hills; ſhining by the cultivation of every part, by the verdure of the ſugar canes, the bloom and fragrance of the number of orange, lemon, lime, and citron trees, the guavas, papas, aloes, and a vaſt multitude of other elegant and uſeful plants that riſe intermixed with the houſes of the gentlemen, which are ſown thickly on every part of the iſland. Even the negroe huts, though mean, contribute to the beauty of the country; for they ſhade them with plantain trees, which give their villages the appearance of ſo many beautiful groves. In

ſhort

short, there is no place in the West-Indies comparable to Barbadoes, in point of numbers of people, cultivation of the soil, and those elegancies and conveniencies which result from both.

St. CHRISTOPHER, ANTEGUA, NEVIS, AND MONTSERRAT.

THE island of St. CHRISTOPHER is the chief of those which we possess amongst the Leeward island, and lies in sixty-two degrees west longitude, and seventeen degrees north latitude, being about fourteen leagues from Antigua. It was first settled by the French and English in the year 1626, but after various fortunes it was entirely ceded to us by the treaty of Utrecht. This island is about seventy-five miles in compass. The circuit of Antegua is but little inferior. Nevis and Montserrat are the smallest of the four, not exceeding for either of them about eighteen or twenty miles in circumference. The soil in all these islands is pretty much alike; light and sandy, but notwithstanding fertile in an high degree. Antegua has no rivulets of fresh water, and but very few springs, this made it be deemed uninhabitable for a long time; but now they save the rains in ponds and cisterns with great care, and they are rarely in great distress for water.

In

In a word, this island, which we formerly thought useless, has got the start of all the Leeward islands, increasing every day in its produce and inhabitants, both freemen and slaves. It has one of the best harbours in the West-Indies; on it stands the principal town called St. John's, which is large and wealthy.

The island of St. Christopher's is not so much on the increase. Neither that nor any of the Leeward islands yields any commodity of consequence but what is derived from the cane, except Montserrat, which exports some indigo, but of a very inferior kind.

It is judged that the island of St. Christopher contains about seven thousand whites and twenty thousand negroes; that Antegua has also about seven thousand of the former colour, and thirty thousand blacks; and that Nevis and Montserrat, may have each about five thousand Europeans, who are the masters of ten or twelve thousand slaves.

NEWFOUNDLAND, *the* BERMUDAS, *and* BAHAMA ISLANDS.

NEWFOUNDLAND is situated to the East of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; between forty-six and fifty-two degrees of North Latitude, and between fifty-three and fifty

fty nine degrees of West Longitude, sepa-
ted from Labrador, or New Britain, by
e Straits of Bellisle, and from Canada, by
e Bay of St. Lawrence, being three hundred
d fifty miles long, and two hundred broad.
From the soil of this island we were far
om reaping any sudden or great advantage;
r the cold is long continued and intense;
d the summer heat, though violent, warms
not enough to produce any thing valuable;
r the soil, at least in those parts of the
land with which we are acquainted, (for we
e far from knowing the whole,) is rocky
d barren. However, it hath many large
d safe harbours; and several good rivers
ater it. This island, whenever the conti-
ent shall come to fail of timber, convenient
o navigation (which perhaps is no very re-
note prospect,) will afford a copious supply
r masts, yards, and all sorts of lumber for
e West-India trade. But what at present
is chiefly valuable for, is the great fishery
f cod, which is carried on upon those shoals
hich are called the Banks of Newfound-
and. This fishery is computed to encrease
e national stock three hundred thousand
ounds a year in gold and silver, remitted to
s for the cod we sell in the North, in Spain,
ortugal, Italy, and the Levant.

The plenty of cod, both in the great bank
nd the lesser ones which lie to the East and
South-East of this island, is inconceiveable;
nd not only cod, but several other species
f fish are there in abundance; all these spe-

cies are nearly in an equal plenty all alon the shores of New-England, Nova Scotia and the Isle of Cape Breton; and consequently excellent fisheries are carried on upo all their coasts.

Where our American colonies are so il peopled, or so barren as not to produce any thing from their soil, their coasts make u ample amends; and pour in upon us a wealth of another kind, and no way inferior to the former, from their fisheries.

We have in North America, besides this two clusters of islands; the BERMUDAS o SUMMER ISLANDS, at a vast distanc from the continent in lat. 31. and the BAHA MA ISLANDS. The former were very earl settled, and were much celebrated in the time of the civil wars; when, several of the cavalier party being obliged to retire int America, some of them, in particular Mr Waller, the poet, spent some time in thi island. Waller was extremely enamoure with the serenity of the air, and richness o the vegetable productions of these islands; he celebrated them in a poem, which is fine but unequal, written by him upon this subject.

The Bermudas are but small; not containing in all upwards of twenty thousan acres. They are very difficult of access being, as Waller expresses it, walled wit rocks. What has been said of the clearnes and serenity of the air, and of the healthines

f the climate, was not exaggerated; but the oil could never boaſt of an extraordinary fer-lity. Their beſt production was cedar, hich was ſuperior to any thing of the kind n America. It is ſtill ſo, though diminiſhed onſiderably in quantity, which has, as it is magined, changed the air much for the orſe; for now it is much more inconſtant han formely; and ſeveral tender vegetables, hich flouriſhed here at the firſt ſettlement, eing deprived of their ſhelter, and expoſed o the bleak Northerly winds, are ſeen no more.

The chief, and indeed only buſineſs of theſe landers, is the building and navigating of ight ſloops and brigantines, built with their edar, which they employ chiefly in the trade etween North America and the Weſt-In-ies. Theſe veſſels are remarkable for their wiftneſs, as the wood of which they are uilt, is for its hard and durable quality. hey export nothing from themſelves but ome white ſtone to the Weſt-Indies, and ome of their garden productions. To Eng-nd they ſend nothing; formerly they made good deal of money of a ſort of hats for omens wear, of the leaves of their pal-netto's, which, whilſt the faſhion laſted, ere elegant; but the trade and the faſhion re gone together.

Their whites are computed to be about ve thouſand, the blacks which they breed re the beſt in America, and as uſeful as the hites in their navigation. The people of

the Bermudas are poor but healthy, contente and remarkably chearful. It is extremel ſurpriſing, that they do not ſet themſelv heartily to the cultivation of vines in th iſland, to which their rocky ſoil ſeems ad mirably adapted; and their ſituation and th manner of trade they are already engaged i would facilitate the diſtribution of their win to every part of North America, and th Weſt-Indies.

The BAHAMAS are ſituated to the ſout of Carolina, from lat. twenty-two to twenty ſeven, and they extend along the coaſt o Florida quite down to the Iſle of Cuba, an are ſaid to be five hundred in number; ſom of them only mere rocks, but a great man others, large, fertile, and in nothing differin from the ſoil of Carolina.

All are however uninhabited, except *Pro vidence*, which is neither the largeſt nor th moſt fertile. This iſland was formerly recepticle for the pirates, who for a long tim infeſted the American navigation. Thi obliged the governor to erect a fort there, t ſtation an independent company in the iſland and to ſend thither a governor. This iſlan has at preſent not much trade, ſome orange it ſends to North America excepted. How ever, in time of war, it makes conſiderabl by the prizes condemned here; and, in tim of peace, by the wrecks, which are frequen in this labyrinth of innumerable rocks an ſhelves.

FRENC

FRENCH ISLANDS *in*-AMERICA.

BEFORE the laſt war, the poſſeſſions and claims of the French in America were very conſiderable; but the event of the laſt war, ſtripped them of almoſt every thing but their Iſlands: As theſe are matters recent in the memory of every one, we ſhall not dwell upon them here, but proceed to give an hiſtorical detail of the firſt ſettlements made by them in the Weſt-Indies.

Among thoſe who made ſettlements in that part of the world, the French were almoſt the laſt; but they made ample amends by the vigour with which they purſued them, and by that chain of judicious and admirable meaſures which they uſed in drawing from them every thing that the nature of the climate would yield; and in contending againſt the difficulties which it threw in their way.

The civil wars, which divided and harraſſed that kingdom, from the death of Henry the ſecond, with very little interruption, until the majority of Lewis the fourteenth, withdrew the attention of both prince and people from their commercial intereſts to thoſe of parties in religion and government.

The time of cardinal Richlieu muſt be conſidered as the true æra of French policy; this great man, pacifying all at home, exalting the royal authority upon the ruins of

the power of the nobility, and modelling tha great ſyſtem of general policy in externa affairs, which raiſed France to ſuch a pitc of greatneſs; amongſt ſo many, and ſuc extenſive cares, did not forget thoſe of com merce, and, what ſerves moſt effectually t ſupport commerce, colonies and eſtabliſhment abroad. But the circumſtances of the times and his genius that embraced ſo many ob jects, did not leave him leiſure to perfec what he began. It was reſerved for tha great, wiſe, and honeſt miniſter Colbert one of the ableſt that ever ſerved any princ or honoured any country, to bring tha plan to perfection, to carry it in a grea meaſure into execution, and to leave thing in ſuch order, that it was not difficult, whe favourable circumſtances offered, to mak France one of the firſt trading powers i Europe, and her colonies the moſt powerful their nature conſidered, of any in America

So early as the reign of Francis I. the French attempted an eſtabliſhment in North America; but it was not untill the yea 1625, that they made their firſt ſettlemen in the Weſt-Indies. This was upon St Chriſtopher's, one of the Caribbee iſlands A remarkable circumſtance attended it; the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the iſland the ſame day, but this ſettlement had not long lif on either ſide.

The Spaniards had reaſon to dread the eſtabliſhment of ſuch powers in their neigh bourhood; and they envied the French and

Engliſh

Engliſh thoſe advantages it was foreſeen hey would draw from countries from which hey had themſelves no benefit, and which hey claimed only to keep them deſarts.

They not only aſſaulted theſe new colo-ies, but drove them out of the iſland. The ngliſh colony ſoon returned, and poſſeſſed hemſelves of the largeſt and moſt fertile uarter, before the French could collect them-lves; who, finding the Engliſh already ccupied the beſt part, left a ſmall colony on e other. But their chief, and the moſt dventurous of their inhabitants, went in arch of a new ſettlement; when, after va-ous fortune, and after combating the dif-culties which an uncultivated country, and me indiſcretions of their own had cauſed em, they made a conſiderable ſettlement in e iſlands of Martinico and Guadaloupe.

Cardinal Richlieu ſaw very early into the vantages which might ariſe from theſe ſet-ments, if prudently managed; and he ought the moſt prudent management both r ſecuring and extending them, conſiſted but one article; which was, to put the vernment into proper hands.

With that view he made choice of Mon-ur de Poincy, a knight of Malta; who s ſent thither with the title of governor d lieutenant-general of the iſles of America, d a very ample commiſſion. No perſon uld be better fitted to rectify the diſorders t naturally muſt ariſe in every new ſet-ment, and to put things in a right chan-

nel

nel for the time to come. Of a good family of an unblemiſhed reputation for probity, great reading, of much and various knowledge of life, and of a genius as variouſly exerciſed. He was a maſter in mechanical learning; in which he excelled not more to his own honour, than to the benefit of the colonies which had the happineſs to be committed to his care. He it was that firſt taught them the method of cultivating the ſugar cane, and preparing the ſugar. He improved the methods which were uſed in the Brazils for this purpoſe, both with regard to the mills and the furnaces; and having given a direction to their induſtry, he gave it all the encouragement he could, by ſupporting thoſe who raiſed their own ſubſtance, by the means which advanced the colony; whilſt he kept a watchful eye and a ſevere hand upon all who were for making haſty fortunes, without adding to the public ſtock. He made admirable regulations for the ſpeedy and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; and knowing that all order muſt depend for its bleſſing above, and its effect here upon an attention to religion, he appointed a proper number of churches to be built in all the iſlands under his care, and ſettled prieſts in them, with a competent, but not a ſuperfluous proviſion; but he did not think monaſteries and monks ſo compatible with a new colony.

Under the inſpection of this governor Martinico, Guadaloupe, part of St. Chriſtopher's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Martin's

were

ere ſettled, and began to flouriſh, and that ith very little help from home. A plain roof that almoſt every thing depends, in af irs of this nature, on chuſing proper men command, and giving them a proper au- ority.

Theſe iſlands, however, were unhappily nder the ſuperintendance of an excluſive mpany, which, in ſpite of all that could herwiſe be done, eſpecially after the death Richlieu, ſo neglected, or miſmanaged eir affairs, that they were obliged to ſell a rt of the ſettlements; and they left the ſt hardly worth purchaſing. But the go- rnment at length bought up the iſlands hich they had alienated, and reſcued the hers out of their hands.

The trade under proper regulations was d open, yet protected under the wings of eir great India company. Theſe regula- ons took place about 1680, and the benefits this arrangement were great, and ſoon ap- rent. Excluſive companies may probably uſeful to nouriſh an infant trade: They ay be uſeful too for a very diſtant one, ere the market is to be nicely managed, d where it is under the dominion of reign and barbarous princes. But where trade is between different parts of the minions of the ſame prince, under the otection of his laws, carried on by his own jects, and with goods wrought in his own untry, ſuch companies muſt be equally abſurd

abſurd in their nature, and ruinous in the conſequences to the trade.

After the Spaniards had ruined the firſt colony at St. Chriſtopher's, they brought upon themſelves by this act a very heavy revenge for the injuſtice of it. Their example at the ſame time made it apparent, how much better it is to let a bold and adventurous people ſettle in ſome place where they can do but little miſchief, and to ſuffer their ſpirit evaporate in peaceful occupations, rather than to keep it up by difficulties, unable to quell it, but which may force it to take another and more dangerous turn.

Several of the French inhabitants, who were expelled from St. Chriſtopher's, being reduced to great indigence, began to think of deſperate courſes. They betook themſelves to piracy; and uniting with ſome vagrant Engliſh, Dutch, and other outcaſts of all nations, but reſolute fellows, and not deſtitute of men of capacity amongſt them, they began a piratical war upon the Spaniards.

At firſt they ſatisfied themſelves with taking their ſhips and deſtroying their trade, which they did effectually; but ſoon, encouraged and ſtrengthened by this ſucceſs, they landed upon the continent of New Spain and Terra Firma, burning and plundering the open country. Their boldneſs and number increaſing with their ſucceſs, they aſſaulted and took ſome of their ſtrongeſt fortreſſes and moſt opulent towns. The

k Portobello, Campeachy, Maracaibo, braltar, and the fortreſs of Chagra; they n took the city of Panama by ſtorm, and nt it, after defeating an army which he to beat them off. In all which places, in others which they had taken, they ned an incredible booty, and committed moſt unheard-of cruelties.

Another party of theſe pirates paſſed the its of Magellan, and entering into the th-Sea, turned the whole coaſt of Peru, li, and the eaſt of Mexico, into one e of deſolation; every where attended h ſucceſs, becauſe every where acting h a bravery and conduct, that in any other ſe had merited the higheſt honours.

It is not a little ſurpriſing, at firſt view, all the great things which were done in new world, were either done by actual tes, as theſe men were, or by private ad- turers, but one degree better authoriſed, nothing better ſupported; whoſe own rage and ſkill were to be at once their miſſion, their magazines, and their trea- , being obliged to find the reſources of war, in the war itſelf: when the moſt nerous and the beſt provided armaments e ſhamefully failed, and failed in thoſe places, where the adventurers had ſhewn n ſuch a glorious example of ſucceſs.

The cauſe is not ſo hard to be aſſigned. e but men of great enterpriſe and bravery ceive thoſe expeditions of themſelves. upported, but at the ſame time uncheck-

ed

ed by the higher powers, they were und
the neceſſity of turning to every ſide, and
exerting every faculty. But then they h
nothing to hinder this exertion. Their f
attempts were generally low, and therefo
they were proſperous. They did not le
great armies to be ſubſiſted with great di
culty, and to be diſcouraged and waſted
the hardſhips of the climate; but they h
bituated themſelves to hardſhips by degree
they were encouraged by ſmaller ſucceſſe
and having nothing to expect from th
power and numbers, they made amends
their vigilance, their activity, and th
courage.

Theſe are cauſes adequate to the effe
indeed adequate to any effect. Whereas
the regular way, a general of the firſt n
and reputation has rarely been ſent into A
rica; the ſervice ſeemed beneath him; a
they that were tolerably expert at ſecond
third parts (worſe than the abſolutely in
perienced for the very firſt, where the ſc
is new) were ſent by court favour and
trigue. What armaments from Engla
Holland, and France, have been ſent
different times to America, whoſe rema
returned without honour or advantage, is
clear, and perhaps too invidious a topi
be greatly inſiſted upon. What may be
fate of the preſent war carrying on in A
rica, time only can determine.

The pirates, whom we called *Buccan*
improperly, the French denominated *fli*
ti

…, from the Dutch fly-boats, in which …y made their firſt expeditions. The buc-…neers are no more than perſons who hunt …d cattle in America for their hides and …low. Some of theſe joined the flibuſtiers …their firſt expeditions, and from them we …med the whole body, buccaneers. Theſe …ople brought their prizes and plunder fre-…ently into Jamaica, by which they enrich-… that iſland extremely. Others, finding …t the Spaniards were very weak in Hiſpa-…la, and that they had in a manner deſerted …onſiderable part of the iſland, made it a …ce of rendezvous. They, who hunted …tle, ſaw the hideous deſarts left by the …aniſh tyranny, a proper place for exer-…ing their profeſſion.

To theſe two ſorts of people were ſoon …ded a third, who were ſome of the French … the Leſſer Antilles; who, finding how …ch might be made by ſupplying a ſort of …ople who expended largely, and were not …y exact in their bargains, and perceiving …t no part of America afforded a better ſoil, …ſſed over to this iſland, and exerciſed here …ir buſineſs of planters and merchants.

Theſe three ſorts of people, mutually in …nt of each other, lived in very good har-…ny. The Spaniards diſlodged them ſeveral …es; but they ſtill returned, and with …w ſtrength; ſo that it was with difficulty, …d after a long diſpute, that the Spaniards …re able ro retain one part of the iſland.

The court of France ſaw the progreſs of theſe people ſilently. Whenever complaints were made, they diſavowed their proceedings; reſolved not to break meaſures with Spain for the ſake of an object, which they were not ſure they could hold, and the advantages of which were yet doubtful; but when they found the French in Hiſpaniola numerous, ſtrong, and wealthy, they owned them as ſubjects, ſent them a governor and regular forces to keep them ſo, and to defend them in what they had done: the old method of piracy was ſtill connived at, whilſt the trade of ſkins increaſed, and the plantations extended.

At laſt the French obtained a legal right by the ceſſion, which the Spaniards made them of the north-weſt part of the iſland by the treaty of Ryſwick, in 1697; the best and moſt fertile part of the beſt and moſt fertile iſland in the Weſt-Indies, and perhaps in the world.

This iſland, which is as frequently called St. *Domingo* as *Hiſpaniola*, is ſituated between the ſeventeenth and twenty-firſt degree of north latitude, and between the ſixty-ſeventh and ſeventy-fourth of weſt longitude, lying in the middle between Cuba and Porto Rico, and is four hundred and fifty miles long, and one hundred and fifty broad. This is the principal ſettlement of the French in the Weſt-Indies.

The country is mixed; pretty mountainous in ſome parts, but many of theſe moun-

tain

ins are fertile, and covered with beautiful oods. Others, which are barren and rocky, ciently had mines of gold; they are not orked now, though it is judged they not ly contain thoſe of gold, but mines of ver, copper, and iron. But the French ink, perhaps with reaſon, that their la- ur is better beſtowed on the culture of the ains for theſe rich commodities, which nd ſo well in Europe, than in the purſuit mines, really more precarious in their ofits, and which yield a wealth after all, a leſs uſeful kind. This country has like- iſe prodigiouſly fine plains, of a vaſt extent, d extreme fertility; either covered with ble and beautiful foreſts of timber and uit-trees, excellent in their kinds, or ſtured by vaſt numbers of horned cattle, ep, and hogs.

The air in Hiſpaniola is the moſt healthy the Weſt-Indies. The country is admi- bly watered with rivulets as well as navi- ble rivers. It is no wonder therefore, that is active and induſtrious nation, in poſſeſ- on of ſo excellent and extenſive a country, s reaped from it prodigious advantages. hey were the better enabled to do this, om the great encouragement their ſettle- ents met with in France; and from the iſe regulations which were made concern- g them.

But it is certain, they reckoned in the ar 1726, that on this iſland they had no s than one hundred thouſand negroes, and

thirty thouſand whites; that they made ſixt
thouſand hogſheads of ſugar of five hundr
weight each; that the indigo was half
much in value as the ſugar; that they e
ported large quantities of cotton; and th
they had ſent beſides to France cacao a
ginger in tolerable plenty. Since that ti
they had raiſed coffee here to a very gre
amount. And not this article only; b
every other branch of their commercial pr
ducts has increaſed to a degree truly aſtoniſ
ing ſince that period. Towards the co
cluſion of the late war, a Spaniſh writer
great judgement, and well informed, reckon
the produce of the plantations near Cape S
Françoiſe, the capital of French Hiſpanio
and which were exported from that ſing
town, at thirty thouſand tons in ſugar, in
go, tobacco, and coffee. This export
the loweſt poſſible calculation cannot be
leſs value than ſix hundred thouſand pound
ſterling. If to this we add the exports
the two conſiderable ports of Leogane a
Petit Guaves, and the other inferior one
which certainly do not ſend out leſs than th
capital; on this low eſtimation, we find th
exported produce of this iſland to be wor
one million two hundred thouſand pound
annually; which, great as it is, is certainl
under-rated.

But there is another branch of their trad
if poſſible more advantageous to the mothe
country, the contraband which they carr
on with the Spaniards wholly in the manu

facture

ctures of France, and for which they receive
eir returns in ſilver. The above-mention-
l author from the moſt authentic informa-
on tells us, that this trade returns annually
France no leſs than two millions of dollars.
his progreſs of the French colonies, and
eir flouriſhing ſtate after a war in which
ey ſuffered greatly, we have diſplayed, in
der to explode a notion which prevails
ith many, that, by diſtreſſing the French
time of war, it is in our power entirely
deſtroy their commerce; but this notion,
it ſhould prevail generally, may miſlead us
eatly to our diſadvantage.

Nations like France and England, full of
ople of ſpirit and induſtry, eaſily recover
the loſſes of war. The trade of France
s in a deplorable condition at the treaty of
trecht. She had not then five hundred
ſſels of all ſorts in the world.

While the ſpirit of trade ſubſiſts, trade
ſelf can never be deſtroyed. This is the
aſon that, amidſt their continual wars and
e loſſes all the nations of Europe ſuffer
om each other, they are almoſt all thriving.
nd, if we may indulge a conjecture, it may
one among ſeveral of the cauſes which
ve reduced the trade of Holland, that ſince
e treaty of Utrecht, they have had no
r. They may, during the quarrels of
her powers, appear to have derived great
vantages from their neutrality. But are
ey not with all this declining faſt?

We muſt not forget, what the great Co
bert ſaid of his country, and which we hav
experienced to be true, that the induſtry o
the French, if permitted, would turn th
very rocks into gold. We muſt not there
fore place our dependance for keeping our
ſelves on a par of power with France, upo
the prejudice which we can do its trade i
time of war, but upon the vigour, œconomy
and wiſdom of the meaſures which we tak
to ſecure and advance our own, both in wa
and in peace.

The largeſt town in the French part o
Hiſpaniola is Cape Françoiſe, which is ſitu-
ated on the northern part of the iſland upo
a very fine harbour. It is well built, and
contains about eight thouſand inhabitants,
blacks and whites. But though this be the
largeſt town, Leogane on the weſtern ſide,
good port too, and a place of conſiderable
trade, is the ſeat of government, which here
reſides in the hands of a governor and the in-
tendant, who are mutually a check upon
each other. There are beſides two other
towns, conſiderable for their trade, Petit
Guaves on the weſt end of the iſland, and
Port Louis on the ſouth-weſt part.

MARTINICO is the next iſland in im-
portance, which the French poſſeſs in Ame-
rica, and is one of the Caribbees or Wind-
ward iſlands, and the principal of them. It
is ſituated between fourteen and fifteen de-
grees of north latitude, and in ſixteen de-
grees of weſt longitude, being about ſixty

miles

iles in length, and about thirty in breadth. is forty leagues to the north-weſt of Bar-adoes, and has pretty high hills, eſpecially the inland parts. From theſe hills are oured out upon every ſide a number of greeable and uſeful rivulets, which adorn nd fructify this iſland in a high degree. he bays and harbours are numerous, ſafe, nd commodious; and ſo well fortified, that e have always failed in our attempts upon is place, until the late war, when this and was obliged to ſubmit to the triumphant ms of Britain; but at the general peace it as reſtored to the French, in much better ndition than the Engliſh found it.

The ſoil is fruitful enough, abounding in e ſame things which our iſlands in that rt of the world produce. Sugar is here, as is in all the iſlands, the prineipal commo-ty, and great quantities are here made. heir export cannot be leſs than ſixty or venty thouſand hogſheads, of five or ſix ndred weight, annually, and this certainly no extravagant eſtimation. Indigo, cot-n, piemento, or all-ſpice, ginger, and oes, are raiſed here; and coffee in great undance. Martinico is the reſidence of e governor of the French iſlands in theſe as.

GUADALOUPE is the largeſt of all the aribbees, and in that diviſion called the eeward iſlands. It is ſituated in ſixteen de-ees of north latitude, and in ſixty-two of eſt longitude, about thirty leagues north

of

of Martinico, being forty-five miles long, and thirty-eight broad. It is almoſt cut in two by a deep gulf that cloſes the ſide of a narrow iſthmus, which connects the two peninſulas that compoſe this iſland. It is upwards of ſixty miles long, and about the ſame breadth. Its ſoil is not inferior to that of Martinico, it is equally cultivated, and it is fortified with equal ſtrength; but it was taken in the laſt war, and given back at the general peace. Its produce is the ſame with that of Martinico; its export of ſugar is as great, beſides indigo, cotton, and thoſe other commodities, which are produced in all the iſlands in that part of America called the Weſt-Indies.

The reſt of the French iſlands in thoſe ſeas are *Deſiada*, *St. Bartholomew*, and *Marigalante*; all of them inconſiderable in compariſon of thoſe which we have mentioned. They do not altogether produce above ſeven or eight thouſand hogſheads of ſugar.

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

SPANISH SETTLEMENTS

IN

SOUTH AMERICA.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

DESCRIPTION

OF

SOUTH AMERICA.

eographical Deſcription of South America.

OUTH AMERICA extends from the gulf of Mexico to the fifty-ſeventh de-ee of ſouth latitude. To the eaſtward it s the Atlantic Ocean, which divides it om Europe and Africa. To the weſt it s another ocean, the great South-Sea, by hich it is diſjoined from Aſia. By theſe as it may, and does carry on a direct com-erce with the other three parts of the orld. It is a vaſt continent, ſeparated from orth America by the great kingdom of exico, which forms a ſort of iſthmus, teen hundred miles long, and in one part,

at

at Darien, ſo extremely narrow, as to mak the communication between the two ocean by no means difficult.

In the great gulf, which is formed be tween this iſthmus and the northern an ſouthern continents, lie an infinite multi tude of iſlands, many of them large, mo of them fertile, and capable of being culti vated to very great advantage. Of the prin cipal of theſe, we have, in the precedin part of this work, taken ſufficient notice.

America in general is not a mountainou country, yet it has the greateſt mountain in the world. The Andes, or Cordillera run from north to ſouth along the coaſt o the Pacific Ocean. Though for the mo part within the torrid zone, they are perp tually covered with ſnow, and in their bowe contain inexhauſtible treaſures. In the pro vince of St. Martha, in South America, a likewiſe very great mountains, which com municate with the former.

South America is, if poſſible, more fortu nate than the North, in point of extenſiv rivers. It ſupplies much the two largeſt ri vers in the world, the river of Amazons, an the Rio de la Plata. The firſt, riſing i Peru, not far from the South-Sea, paſſ from weſt to eaſt, almoſt quite through th continent of South America, navigable fo ſome ſort or other of veſſels all the wa and receiving into its boſom a prodigiou number of rivers, all navigable in the ſam manner, and ſo great, that Monſieur Co

damine found it often almoſt impoſſible to determine which was the main channel. The Rio de la Plata, riſing in the heart of the country, ſhapes its courſe to the ſouth-eaſt, and pours ſuch an immenſe flood into the ſea, that it makes it taſte freſh a great many leagues from the ſhore; to ſay nothing of the Oronoquo, which might rank the foremoſt amongſt any but the American rivers.

PERU.

THE firſt place of conſequence on the continent of South America is Peru, which is ſituated between the equator and twenty-five degrees of ſouth latitude, and between ſixty and eighty-one degrees of weſt longitude, being one thouſand eight hundred miles in length, and five hundred in breadth. It is bounded on the north by Terra Firma, on the eaſt by the mountains of the Andes, on the ſouth by Chili, and on the weſt by the Pacific Ocean.

It never rains in this country; but every night a ſoft benign dew broods upon the earth, and refreſhes the graſs and plants ſo as to produce in ſome parts the greateſt fertility: what the dew wants in perfecting this, is wrought by the vaſt number of ſtreams, to which the frequent rains and the daily melting of the ſnow on thoſe aſtoniſhing moun-

tains give riſe; for theſe mountains, though within the tropics, have their tops continually covered with ſnow, which is an appearance unparallelled in the ſame climate.

Along the ſea-coaſt, Peru is generally a dry barren ſand, except by the bank of the rivers and ſtreams we have mentioned, where it is extremely fertile, as are all the valleys in the hilly country. The cauſe of the want of rain in all the flat country of Peru is difficult to be aſſigned; though the agents in it are not improbably the conſtant ſouth-weſt wind, that prevails there for the greateſt part of the year; and the immenſe height of the mountains, cold with a conſtant ſnow.

The plain country between, refreſhed as it is on the one hand by the cool winds that blow without any variation from the frigid regions of the ſouth, and heated as uniformly by the direct rays of the equinoctial ſun, preſerve ſuch an equal temper, that the vapour once elevated, can hardly ever deſcend in rain: but, in the mountainous part of the country, by the alternate contraction and dilatation of the air from the daily heats and the ſucceeding colds, which the ſnows communicate in the abſence of the ſun, as well as from the unequal temper of the air which prevails in all hilly places, the rain falls very plentifully; the climate in the mountainous countries is extremely changeable, and the changes ſudden.

The commodities of Peru, for export, may be reduced to theſe articles. Firſt, ſilver

and

and gold; ſecondly, wine, oil, and brandy; thirdly, Vigonia wool; fourthly, jeſuits bark; fifthly, Guinea or Jamaica pepper. The mines of gold in Peru are almoſt all in the northern part, not very remote from Lima; thoſe of ſilver almoſt wholly in the ſouthern.

The voyagers who treat of this country are generally pretty diffuſe in their accounts of the principal places where mines are found; but it does not therefore give us encouragement to inſiſt much on theſe particulars, becauſe they contain very little inſtruction in themſelves; and if they were things in their own nature inſtructive, it would be little to the purpoſe to dwell upon what is continually changing. New mines are daily opened, and the old exhauſted or deſerted. The towns ſhift with the mines. A rich mine is always the founder of a town, in proportion to its produce; the town which it ſubſiſts, when the mine is exhauſted, diſappears.

Indeed, the great mines of Potoſi, in the province of Los Charcas, are the inheritance of ages; and, after having enriched the world for centuries, ſtill continue the inexhauſtible ſources of a new treaſure. They are not however quite ſo valuable now as formerly; not ſo much from any failure of the vein, as from the immenſe depth to which they have purſued it, which, by the greater labour neceſſary, leſſens the profit on what it yields, in proportion as they deſcend;

beſides, new mines are daily opened, which are worked at a leſs expence: ſo that the accounts we have had of the great number which inhabited the city of Potoſi, when Mr. Frezier was in that country, muſt have ſince ſuffered ſome abatement. It had then upwards of ſeventy thouſand ſouls, Spaniards and Indians; of which the latter were ſix to one.

The Spaniards oblige this unfortunate people to ſend annually a certain number from the villages of the adjacent country, who are compelled to work for a limited time; afterwards they may return. But, having loſt the ſweetneſs of their former connexions, they that ſurvive this ſlavery commonly ſettle in the city of Potoſi. It is incredible how theſe mines (the moſt terrible ſcourge with which God could afflict the inhabitants) have contributed to depopulate this country. Worſe they are than either ſword or peſtilence; equally fatal to their lives; and where thoſe eſcape, they are embittered by the circumſtance of an ignominious ſlavery, without any proſpect of end or mitigation.

The effects of this ſervitude would be yet more fatal, if it were not for the uſe of an herb which the inhabitants call Coca, to which they aſcribe the moſt extraordinary virtues, and which they conſtantly uſe. Its qualities ſeem to be of the opiate kind, and to have ſome reſemblance to thoſe of tobac-

co;

co; for it produces a kind of ſtupid compoſure. It is an antidote againſt poiſons and poiſonous effluvia, and makes thoſe who uſe it ſubſiſt a long time without food. Though neceſſary to thoſe only who work in the mines, it is uſed for pleaſure by all the Indians, who chew it conſtantly, though it makes thoſe who uſe it ſtink in a moſt offenſive manner.

This herb is gathered by the Indians with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, to which they attribute its virtues; for which reaſon it is, in many parts of Peru, with equal ſuperſtition, ſtrictly forbidden; the Spaniards, as well as the Indians, giving the credit of its effects to magic, and allowing to theſe more than they deſerve; for they think the Indians ſuperiority in ſtrength owing principally to them. However, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the inquiſition, which is eſtabliſhed in all the Spaniſh dominions with great terror, neceſſity makes them wink at the practice, where the mines are worked.

They make uſe of another preſervative, an infuſion of the herb of Paraguay; ſomething of the nature of tea. The conſumption of this in Peru by all ranks of people is prodigious. Above eighteen thouſand hundred weight is annually brought into Chili and Peru, and is worth, when the duty is paid, not leſs than eighty thouſand pounds ſterling. The fineſt of this ſpecies of tea comes from the country of the jeſuits.

The ſouthern part of Peru, which lies without the tropic of Capricorn, produces wine in great plenty, but not in a perfection proportionable. The Spaniards diſlike and leave it to the Indians and negroes, chuſing rather, what may ſeem odd, to regale in the brandy of the ſame wine, which is likewiſe made and exported in large quantities, not only to all parts of Peru, but to Panama, and the ports of New Spain.

The greateſt quantity is made near a place otherwiſe of no conſequence, called Moquaga; here, it is ſaid, they make annually of wine and brandy one hundred thouſand jars, which Mr. Frezier reckons at three millions two hundred thouſand Paris pints, A vaſt quantity in a ſmall territory.

Other places trade in wine, ſuch as Piſco, but of a goodneſs not ſuperior. Oil is likewiſe had in Peru; but both the wine and oil are moſtly the produce of thoſe places that lie beyond the ſouthern tropic.

One of the moſt valuable commodities of the growth of this country is wool; and it is not more remarkable for its fine long ſtaple, than for the ſingularity of the animal which carries it. It is ſheered from a ſort of ſheep, which they call lamas and vicunnas. The lambs have ſmall heads, reſembling in ſome meaſure both horſe and ſheep; the upper lip is cleft like that of the hare, through which, when they are enraged, they ſpit, even to ten paces diſtance, a ſort of envenomed juice, which when it falls on the ſkin, cauſes a red

ſpot

pot and great itching. The neck is long like that of a camel; the body reſembles that of a ſheep, but the legs are much longer in proportion. This animal has a diſagreeable ſmell, but its fleſh is good; and it is extremely uſeful, not only for the wool, which is very long and fine, but as it is a beaſt of burthen, ſtrong, patient, and kept at a very eaſy expence. It ſeldom carries above one hundred and fifty pounds weight, but then it carries that weight a vaſt way without tiring, eats very little, and never drinks. As ſoon as night comes, the lama lies down; and no blows can get him to move one foot, after the time he deſtines for his reſt and food.

The vicunna is an animal reſembling the lama, pretty much as the dromedary does the camel. He is ſmaller and ſwifter, with a far finer wool, but otherwiſe exactly like the lama in all reſpects. The wool of theſe creatures is almoſt as fine as ſilk. Probably the famous ſheep of Cachemir, of whoſe wool they make the little white cloths, ſo much valued in India, is of this ſpecies.

The fourth great article of their commerce is jeſuits bark, ſo well known in medicine, as a ſpecific in intermitting diſorders, and the many other great purpoſes, which experience daily finds it to anſwer. The tree which produces this valuable bark grows principally in the mountainous parts of Peru, and that moſt and beſt in the province of Quito.

Condamine

Condamine informs us, that it grows on the hither ſide of the Andes, no way inferior to the Peruvian in quantity and goodneſs; the beſt is produced on the high and rocky grounds; and it is not ſingular in this, for it ſeems in a good meaſure to be the caſe of all plants, whoſe juices are much more ſtrong and effective when elaborated in ſuch ſituations. The tree which bears it is about the ſize of a cherry-tree; its leaves are round and indented; it bears a long reddiſh flower, from whence ariſes a ſort of huſk, which envelopes a flat and white kernel, not unlike an almond.

This bark was firſt introduced in France by the Cardinal Lago, a jeſuit, about the year 1650. Hence it had its name of jeſuits bark. It is ſaid to have been diſcovered by the accident of an Indian's drinking in a fever of the water of a lake into which ſome of theſe trees had fallen, and by which he was cured.

This medicine, as uſual, was held in defiance for a good while by the faculty; but after an obſtinate defence, they have thought proper at laſt to ſurrender. Notwithſtanding all the miſchiefs at firſt foreſeen in its uſe, every body knows that it is at this day innocently and efficaciouſly preſcribed in a great variety of caſes; for which reaſon it makes a conſiderable and valuable part of the cargo of the galleons.

Guinea pepper, Agi, or, as it is called by us, Cayenne pepper, is a very great article

n the trade of Peru, as it it is uſed all over panish America in almoſt every thing they at. This is produced in the greateſt quantity n the vale of Arica, a diſtrict in the ſouthern arts of Peru, from whence they export it o the annual value of ſi. thundred thouſand rowns. The diſtrict which produces this epper in ſuch abundance is but ſmall, and aturally barren; its fertility in pepper, as ell as in grain and fruits, is owing to the dvantage of a ſpecies of a very extraordinary anure, brought from an iſland called quiqua.

This is a ſort of yellowiſh earth, of ſtrong and fetid ſmell. It is generally ought to be dung of birds, becauſe of the militude of the ſcent, feathers having been und very deep in it, and vaſt numbers of a fowls appearing upon that and all the ad- cent coaſts. But, on the other hand, hether we look upon this ſubſtance as the ung of theſe ſea fowls or a particular ſpecies earth, it is almoſt equally difficult to con- ive how the ſmall iſland of Iquiqua, not ove two miles in circumference, could pply ſuch immenſe quantities; and yet, ter ſupplying upwards of twelve ſhip loads nually for a century together for the diſ- nt parts, and a vaſtly larger quantity for e neighbourhood, it cannot be obſerved at it is in the leaſt diminiſhed, or that the eight of the iſland is at all leſſened. But eſe are matters, which to handle properly, quire a more exact knowledge of all the

circum-

circumſtances relating to them, that can be gathered from travellers.

Quickſilver is a remarkable article in their trade, becauſe the purification of their gold and ſilver depends upon it. We do not find that any other part of the Spaniſh America produces it; ſo that Mexico and Terra Firma are ſupplied from Old Spain with all they want of that mineral, which is brought them on the king's account only; except that ſome arrives from Peru in a contraband manner. In Peru likewiſe, it is monopolized by the crown.

The principal mine of this extraordinary ſubſtance is at a place called Guancavelica, where it is found in a whitiſh maſs, reſembling brick ill burned; this they pound, and put into a furnace vaulted at the top; it is laid upon an iron grate covered with earth. Through this the fire paſſes; and volatilizing the mineral, it is raiſed in a ſmoke, which, finding no paſſage but through a little hole contrived for that purpoſe, ruſhes through into a ſucceſſion of little round veſſels, united to each other by the necks; here the ſmoak circulates, and it condenſes by means of a little water at the bottom of each veſſel, into which the quickſilver falls in a pure heavy liquid. The men who work in the mines of this mineral are yet more ſubject to diſeaſes than thoſe who toil in the others; and they make uſe of the ſame preſervatives of Paraguay, tea and coca.

The

The manners of the Spaniards and Creolians of Peru reſemble, with little difference, thoſe of the Spaniards and Creolians of Mexico, other than that the natives of Peru ſeem to be of a more liberal turn, and of greater ingenuity; but they are for the greater part equally deſtitute of all cultivation. The ſlavery of the Indians is here yet more ſevere. The magiſtrate and the prieſt devour their whole ſubſtance; and every Spaniard, as ſome authors report, inſults them with impunity. The traveller takes as much of their proviſion as he pleaſes, and decides for himſelf what he ſhall pay, or whether he ſhall pay any thing at all. Complaints are anſwered with indignities, and with blows, which it is a crime to return.

This cruel irregular bondage contributes to diſpeople this country even more than the methodical tyranny of the government. To avoid the plunder he is hourly ſubjected to, the maſter of the family often raiſes no more grain than what juſt ſuffices for the ſuſtenance of his family; this he buries, and keeps the ſecret of his hoard to himſelf, only drawing out daily juſt ſo much as ſerves for the uſe of the day. If he chances to die ſuddenly, the family ſtarves; if a bad ſeaſon comes, the calculated produce falls ſhort, and they are all reduced to beggary. Yet worſe, they are even the ſlaves of ſlaves; for the Spaniards encourage their negroes to treat them with the greateſt inſolence; and they politically

cally keep up a rancour, now grown inveterate, between theſe two races of people.

They are forbidden, under the ſevereſt penalties, to marry, or to have an unlawful intercourſe together. Diviſion is the great inſtrument in which the Spaniards truſt for the preſervation of their colonies. The native Spaniard has alone all the lucrative offices, civil, eccleſiaſtical, and military. He deſpiſes the Creolian; the Creolian hates and envies him. Both contemn and maltreat the Indians, who, on their ſide, are not inſenſible of the indignities they ſuffer. The blacks are encouraged to trample on the Indians, and to conſider their intereſts as altogether oppoſite; whilſt the Indians in their nominal freedom look with an envious diſdain upon the ſlavery of the negroes, which makes them their maſters.

What is extraordinary, the Spaniards, not content with reducing this unhappy nation under ſo cruel a yoke, as if they thought it nothing unleſs they were thoroughly ſenſible of its weight, ſuffer the Indians to celebrate an annual feſtival, in which plays are repreſented, commemorating the overthrow of their own ſtate. Theſe are acted with all the horrid and aggravating circumſtances which attend this event; and the people are at this time ſo enraged, that the Spaniards find it dangerous to go abroad.

In the city of Lima, there is annually celebrated a feſtival of this kind, with a grand proceſſion, wherein they carry in a ſort of triumph

iumph the remaining deſcendant of the ncas of Peru, and his wife; who at that me receive all imaginable honours in the oſt melancholy pomp, from a race bowed own with the ſenſe of the common bondage prince and people. This throws the moſt fecting gloom over the feſtival that renews e image of their former freedom. To this maining ynca the viceroy of Peru does ho- age when he enters upon his government. he ynca ſits upon a lofty ſtage, and the iceroy makes his obedience upon an horſe, ho is taught to kneel upon the occaſion.

This manner of proceeding may be thought f the moſt refined ſtrain of inſolent tyranny, d to be as unpolitic as it is inſulting; but is not impoſſible that thoſe vents, which ey ſuffer the indignation of the people to ke, may carry off a ſpirit, that might herwiſe break out in a much more fatal anner. Whether by the diviſion they keep p, or by theſe vents, or by the manage- ent of the clergy, or by whatever means, e Spaniards preſerve their conqueſts with ry little force; the Indians are even armed, d make a conſiderable part of their militia; is true, they are interdicted the uſe of apons without licence; but licence is pro- red without much difficulty.

They have likewiſe a large number of free acks, and they too are formed into com- nies in their militia. Certain it is, that, th in the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies,

they find ſlavery compatible enough with great licence in ſome reſpects, and both with the ſecurity of the maſters. Things deſerving our conſideration; as we do not ſeem to excel in the conciliating arts of government in our colonies, nor to think that anything is to be effected by other inſtruments than thoſe of terror and rude force.

There are three cities in Peru famous for their opulence and trade; *Lima*, *Cuſco*, and *Quito*. *Lima* lies in the northern part of Peru, in the latitude of twelve degrees ſouth, and two hundred and ninety-nine degrees of weſt longitude from Teneriffe. It ſtands about two leagues from the ſea, upon a river called Rimac, ſmall and unnavigable.

This city is the capital of Peru, and of all South America; it extends in length about two miles, and in breadth about one and a quarter; its diſtant appearance, from the multitude of ſpires and domes, is extremely majeſtic; and when you enter it you ſee the ſtreets laid out with the greateſt regularity, cutting each other at equal diſtances and right angles; the houſes, on account of the equality of the climate, are ſlightly roofed, as they are built low and of light materials, to avoid the conſequences of earthquakes, frequent and dreadful in this country. But they are elegantly plaiſtered and painted on the outſide, ſo as to have all the appearance of free-ſtone. To add to the beauty and convenience of this city, moſt houſes have a garden,

garden, watered by cuts drawn from the river; each man commands a little running ſtream for his own uſe; in a hot and dry country as this is, no ſmall matter of convenience and delight. Here is a grand walk by the river ſide two hundred fathom long, conſiſting of five rows of fine orange trees. To this the company reſorts at five in the evening drawn in their coaches and calaſhes.

Such is the opulence of this city, that, exclusive of coaches, there are kept in it upwards of five thouſand of theſe carriages.

Lima has fifty-four churches, taking in the cathedral, the parochial, and conventual; thirteen monaſteries of men (beſides ſix colleges of jeſuits,) one of which contains ſeven hundred, and another five hundred friars and ſervants; twelve nunneries, the principal of which has not leſs than three hundred nuns; and twelve hoſpitals, beſides foundations for the portioning of poor girls. The number of whites is not leſs than ten thouſand; and the whole of the inhabitants of all caſts and colours are ſaid not to fall ſhort of ſixty thouſand ſouls.

They tell a very remarkable fact, that may help us to ſome idea of the vaſt wealth of this city. When their viceroy, the duke de la Palata, made his public entry in 1682, they cauſed two of the principal ſtreets to be paved with ingots of ſilver, that had paid the fifth to the king, of between twelve and fifteen inches long, four or five in breadth,

and two or three in thickneſs; the whole o which could not amount to leſs than ſixtee or ſeventeen millions ſterling. But nothin can give a true idea of the vaſt wealth of Li ma, except the churches, which the mo judicious travellers ſpeak of with aſtoniſh ment, and ſeem incapable of deſcribing, o account of that amazing profuſion of gold ſilver, and precious ſtones with which ever thing, even the walls, is in a manner totall covered. The tide of this vaſt wealth is fe from ſources as copious, this city being th great magazine for almoſt all the plate o Peru, which is coined here, for the larg manufactures and natural products of tha kingdom for thoſe of Chili, and for all th luxuries and conveniencies brought fro Europe and the Eaſt-Indies.

The trade of the French to Peru, durin the general war in Europe which was cauſe by the diſputes about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion made this city decay not a little, by diffuſin the commerce, of which before it was th center, amongſt the other towns which li along the coaſt; but, as that privilege wa afterwards taken away, Lima began to re vive again, and continued in great ſplendo until the year 1747, when a moſt tremendou earthquake, which entirely devoured Callao the port belonging to it, laid three fourth of this city level with the ground.

The deſtruction of Callao was the mo perfect and terrible that can be conceived no more than one of all the inhabitants e

caping

aping, and he by a providence the moſt ngular, and extraordinary imaginable. This an was on the fort that overlooked the har- our, going to ſtrike the flag, when he per- eived the ſea to retire to a conſiderable diſ- ance; and then ſwelling mountain high, it eturned with great violence. The inhabi- ants ran from their houſes in the utmoſt error and confuſion; he heard the cry of *Miſerere* riſe from all parts of the city; and mmediately all was ſilent; the ſea had en- rely overwhelmed this city, and buried it or ever in its boſom; but the ſame wave hich deſtroyed this city, drove a little boat y the place where the man ſtood, into which e threw himſelf and was ſaved. What is markable too in this affair, Mr. Frezier, ho was in Peru in the year 1714, on con- dering the ſituation of this town and the ature of the country, ventured to propheſy r it the deſtruction, which we have ſeen compliſhed in our days.

Whilſt this town ſubſiſted, it contained bout three thouſand inhabitants of all kinds, ad five convents, and poſſeſſed the fineſt ort in all Peru. Here were the rich ware- ouſes furniſhed with all the goods of Eu- ope, which being landed by the galleons at orto-bello, were brought over land to Pa- ama, and thence tranſported hither by the rmadilla, or fleet, with a convoy of three hen of war reſerved for this purpoſe. To his port arrived the annual ſhip from Aca-

fulco laden with all the products of the eas
from Chili it received vaſt quantities of cor
dried beef and pork, leather, tallow, plan
and ſeveral ſorts of woollen goods, partic
larly carpets, like thoſe of Turkey. Fro
the ſouthern ports of Peru were brought f
gars, wine and brandy, naval ſtores, caca
Vigonia wool, and tobacco. From Mexi
it had pitch and tar, woods for dying, a
that balſam, which we improperly call
Peru, ſince it comes from Guatimala.

To the viceroy of Peru, both Chili a
Terra Firma are ſubject. His ſettled ſala
is forty thouſand pieces of eight yearly;
perquſites are great; as often as he goes
Callao, he is intitled to three thouſand pie
of eight for that little airing; he has t
thouſand for every progreſs into more diſta
parts; he has the ſole diſpoſal of above
hundred great magiſtracies; and, in ſho
the granting of all triennial employme
both civil and military throughout the exte
of his ample juriſdiction. It cannot the
fore be doubted that his perquiſites, ev
his lawful ones (for there are many othe
at leaſt double the value of his ſalary. A
certainly, whatever the king of Spain m
loſe by the bad œconomy in his affairs,
prince in the world has ſuch means of
warding the ſervices of his ſubjects, witho
any immediate burden upon his own r
venues.

Cuſco, the capital of the ancient empi
is ſtill a very conſiderable city; it is a

good distance from the sea, and situated in the mountainous part of the country; it has not less than forty thousand inhabitants, three parts Indians, who are very industrious and ingenious. Though little instructed in the art, a taste for painting prevails, and some performances of the Indians of Cusco and Quito have met with applause in Italy. An incredible quantity of pictures are painted here, and are dispersed all over Peru and Chili. They have have here likewise manufactures of bays and cotton, and they work largely in leather in most of the ways in which it is used.

Quito is likewise an inland town, situated in the most northern part of Peru; it is a very considerable place, and equal to any in Peru for the number of inhabitants, which are between fifty and sixty thousand; and it carries on a very extensive trade with Lima, in manufactures of wool, cotton, and flax, which are wrought in the city and its district, and supply the greater part of the consumption of the poorer sort all over this kingdom. Few mines are worked in this district, though thought to abound in minerals; they receive plate in return for their own manufactures, and send it to Carthagena, in return for those of Europe.

History

History of the Conquest of PERU.

THERE was but one country in America, except Mexico, which in any sort deserved the name of a civilized kingdom, and that was Peru. During the latter part of the Mexican war, the Spaniards became acquainted with the fame and wealth of this country. After Pedraria was appointed governor over the conquests of Balboa, his lieutenants reduced all that large tract which is now called Terra Firma, committing barbarities worthy the man under whose authority they acted. Amongst all the adventurers who acted under his commission none have made themselves so famous as those of whom we are going to speak.

As if it were destined that every thing in this new world should be carried on in a new and extraordinary manner; three citizens of Panama, private men, and advanced in years, undertook the conquest of Peru, a country known to them only by report, but by the same report said to be rich, extensive, populous, and powerful. The names of these adventurers were, Francis Pizarro, Almagro, and Ferdinand Lucques, a priest, and a man of considerable fortune.

They entered into this engagement in the most solemn manner. Lucques said mass, an oath of mutual fidelity was plighted, the sacrament

crament was divided into three parts, Luc-
ues took one, and delivered the other two
his confederates. The firſt expedition,
conſequence of this confederacy, was made
nder extraordinary difficulties, and with very
tle ſucceſs. Pizarro, who commanded, ſpent
o years in the ſhort navigation between Pa-
ma and the northern extremity of Peru, a
yage now made frequently in two weeks,
ce the winds and currents are known. He
nded, and found that the wealth of the
untry was as great as he imagined; and
at the reſiſtance he was like to meet in en-
avouring to poſſeſs himſelf of it, would be
ll as conſiderable. This he put to the proof
ry early, by taking the raſh ſtep of attack-
g the inhabitants at his firſt landing; and
us letting them ſee all at once the worſt of
s intentions.

The difficulties he met with, and the reſiſt-
nce his ill conduct occaſioned in the coun-
y, obliged him to return without effecting
y thing conſiderable. But neither he nor
is aſſociates, after ſuch a length of time, or
ch greatneſs of expence, were deterred from
e proſecution of their ſcheme. It was a-
reed, that Pizarro ſhould go into Spain, to
tain an exemption from the government of
edraria, and to get for themſelves the grant
whatever they ſhould conquer. Pizarro,
who, though not the monied man, was the
ul of the enterprize) was to be chief go-
rnor, with the property of two hundred
agues along the ſea-coaſt. Almagro they

agreed

agreeed ſhould be adelantado, or king's li
tenant; and Lucques, who was a prieſt,
to be firſt biſhop and protector of the India
The other profits of the enterprize were to
equally divided. But as this was an ent
prize of ambitious avarice, there was lit
faith obſerved. Pizarro ſolicited only his o
ſuit in Spain, and obtained for himſelf alo
the property of the land, the government,
lieutenancy, every thing which he was ca
ble as a layman of taking; Almagro was f
gotten, and to Lucquez was left his event
biſhoprick.

On his return, this too early diſcovery
breach of faith was like to ruin all; but P
zarro, who knew how to retreat as well
advance, yielded up to Almagro every thi
he could reaſonably deſire; and nothing n
obſtructed the embarkation, which, after
did not exceed one hundred and eighty me

Before we proceed, it may not be unnec
ſary to ſay ſomething of the perſons who h
the conduct of this great Undertaking. Fra
cis Pizarro was the baſtard ſon of a gent
man of good family. His education was
irregular as his birth, he could not even re
but then he had a great deal of that capac
and fitneſs for the world, which is obtai
by much ſtruggling in it, and by being ea
made dependant on a man's own induſt
Hardened to life, dextrous in affairs, nev
ſetting his heart upon a part of his deſig
whilſt the total was at ſtake, of a penetrati
ſagacity into the nature of man, artful, bol

diſſembli

embling, and cruel. Almagro had like-
enough of that desperate bravery and
ghness of body and mind, so necessary in
sign of this sort. In their birth there
no considerable difference. Pizarro was
bastard, Almagro a fondling. Pizarro
d nothing to education; Almagro de-
ded wholly upon his natural parts. But
nagro, bred from his infancy in the camp,
all the soldierly qualities, patient, la-
ious, and temperate; far from the craft
diffimulation of Pizarro, he was all
nness and generosity, knew not what
rice was, and his cruelty, the common
emper of all the adventurers in this part
he world, was much mitigated by the in-
ourse he had with an Indian woman,
, by degrees, softened the rigour of a
eran seasoned to blood, into some com-
ion to her unhappy countrymen.

The empire of Peru was governed by a
of kings, which they called yncas. The
ifth in succession was then upon the
one. The first of this race, named Man-
Capac, was a prince of great genius,
that mixture of enthusiasm, which
a man to make great changes, and to be
legislator of a forming nation. He ob-
ed that the people of Peru were naturally
erstitious, and had principally a venera-
n for the sun. He therefore pretended
he was descended from that luminary,
se authority he was designed to bear,
whose worship he was by that authority

to

to enforce. By this perſuaſion, eaſily r
ceived by a credulous people, he brough
large territory under his juriſdiction; a larg
was ſubdued by his arms; but he made u
both of the deceit and the force for the mo
laudable purpoſes. He united and civiliz
the diſperſed and barbarous people; he be
them to laws and arts; he ſoftened them b
the inſtitutions of a benevolent religion;
ſhort, there was no part of America in whic
agriculture and the arts were ſo much and
well cultivated, nor where the people we
of a milder nature, and more ingenious ma
ners. The yncas deſcended, as they imagi
ed, from ſo ſacred an original, were then
ſelves reſpected as divinities. In none, ev
of the Aſiatic countries, was there ſo enti
an obedience to the royal authority; b
here it was rather filial than ſlaviſh. As
the character of the Peruvians themſelv
they ſeem to have had a ſtrong reſemblan
to the ancient Egyptians: like them, und
a ſky conſtantly ſerene, they were a peop
induſtrious and ingenious; cultivating t
arts, but without bringing them to perfe
tion; inclined to ſuperſtition, and of a ſo
unwarlike temper.

Such was the face of affairs when the Sp
niards arrived in Peru, whoſe remarkable a
pearance and ſurprizing feats of arms w
every where ſpread about the country, a
cauſed a general alarm. As uſual in fright
rumours, new ſuperſtitions began, or o
ones are revived, to encreaſe the confuſio

here ſubſiſted a tradition amongſt the Peru-
ans, that one of their ancient princes had a
eam which he ordered carefully to be record-
. He imagined that he ſaw a man cloathed
over, even to his feet, with a long beard,
d leading in his hand an animal, ſuch as
had never ſeen before; and that, at the
ne time, he was clearly informed of the
ll of the gods, that ſuch a man ſhould rule
at country.

A Spaniard, whom Pizarro had ſent upon
embaſſy to Atabalipa, as ſoon as he was
ſcovered leading his horſe upon ſome occa-
n that made him diſmount, agreed ſo well
ith his dream, that it is incredible how ſoon
ſpread into the remoteſt parts of the coun-
y, and with how great a terror it ſtruck
e whole nation.

Atabalipa, newly ſeated upon a precarious
rone, was not the only one alarmed at this
ent; for a new-erected power has every
ing to fear from whatever ſets the people's
inds, ſtill unſettled, upon a new motion.
e reſolved, if poſſible, that his enemies
ould take no advantage of the arrival of
oſe ſtrangers, by engaging them by all
eans to his own intereſt. He therefore re-
ived the embaſſadors, which Pizarro had
nt, with the greateſt marks of honour,
ough their diſcourſe, conſiſting itſelf of
ry impertinent matter, was very ill inter-
eted to him, as was his to them. He
en went out to meet Pizarro with a vaſt

number of attendants, to whom he gave ſtricteſt charge upon no account to offer leaſt injury to the ſtrangers, as they w thoſe of whom his predeceſſor had foret and of the ſame divine original, childre the ſun. But Pizarro, who advanced w other notions to the interview, ſoon conv ced him that a contrary caution was n neceſſary. They met near a celebra temple, the Spaniards drawn up in order battle, and a party in ambuſcade. T circumſtance leaves us in no doubt as to deſign of Pizarro. The firſt perſon who dreſſed himſelf to the ynca, was father V cent, a friar, who was not aſhamed to m his character the inſtrument of ſo baſ crime. He advanced with a croſs in hand, and began a moſt unſeaſonable courſe upon the birth and miracles of Chr exhorting him to become a chriſtian, on pain of eternal puniſhment. Then he ſpo with equal eloquence of the emperor of t Romans, preſſing him with the ſame ſtreng of argument to become a ſubject to that e peror; threatening him, in caſe of obſ nacy, that God would harden his heart as did Pharao's, and then puniſh him with t plagues of Egypt; with other miſerable ſtu worſe interpreted. The ynca, though u terly aſtoniſhed at a matter ſo unaccountabl behaved with decency and gravity, telli him, that he believed that he and his com panions were children of the ſun, recon

mend

nded himſelf and his ſubjects to their pro-
ion, and made no doubt but they would
ave to them in a manner worthy the off-
ing of ſo beneficient a Deity.

Whilſt theſe diſcourſes continued, the
niſh ſoldiers, whoſe leaſt buſineſs to Peru
s to liſten to ſermons, obſerving a con-
rable quantity of gold in the neghbouring
ple, had their zeal immediately ſtirred
and a party of them began to pillage it.
e prieſts made ſome oppoſition. A diſ-
bance enſued, and a great noiſe, which
larmed our adventuring apoſtle, that he
fall his croſs and breviary in his fright,
d turned his back upon his intended pro-
yte.

Thoſe Spaniards, who were not concerned
the pillage, ſeeing him fly, either that
ey judged the heathens had offered their
eſt ſome violence, or that Pizarro made
of this ſignal to them to fall on, imme-
ately drew their ſwords, attacked the
ards and attendants of the ynca, defence-
s through a religious obedience to their
vereign's command, and with every cir-
mſtance of the moſt deliberate and ſhock-
g barbarity ſlaughtered five thouſand,
hich was near the whole number of the
dians, who fell without any anxiety for
eir own lives, preſſing forward with all the
al and officiouſneſs of a moſt heroic loyalty
the chair of their prince, to expire at his
et; and as faſt as one ſet of his ſupporters

were ſlain, the others ſucceeded with eager
neſs to ſupply their places, and ſhare the
fate. The ynca at laſt was dragged down
and made a priſoner, by an act of the mo
unparalleled treachery, executed with
cruelty that has hardly an example, and ca
admit of no excuſe. The plunder of hi
camp, rich beyond the idea of any Europea
at that time was their reward.

The unfortunate prince was not wantin
to himſelf in his captivity. Seeing that hi
liberty had fallen a ſacrifice to their avarice
he hoped to relieve himſelf by working upo
the ſame diſpoſition. He began to treat o
his ranſom, and promiſed ſuch ſums as aſto
niſhed the Spaniards into an agreement; no
was the performance unequal. On this oc
caſion, not only the ancient ornaments an
valuable furniture, amaſſed by a long line o
magnificent kings, were brought out; bu
the hallowed treaſures of the moſt venerate
temples were given without ſcruple, to ſav
him who was the ſupport of the kingdom
and the religion.

Whilſt theſe were preparing, three Spa-
niards, who were ſent to Cuſco to ſuperin-
tend in the work, had means of conferrin
with Hueſcar, who, quickly finding thei
foible, and the uſe his brother had made o
it, complained bitterly of the injuries he
had ſuffered; begging the Spaniards, as the
patrons of the oppreſſed, to embrace his
cauſe, promiſing threefold the treaſure for
their aſſiſtance, which Atabalipa was to pay

for his ranſom. He received a very favourable anſwer.

Mean time the Spaniards treated the ynca with all manner of civility, admitted his attendants to him, but no talk of his liberty. As ſoon as he had been appriſed of Hueſcar's negociation with the Spaniads, and Almagro's arrival with an additional force, he began to be under great apprehenſions. To eaſe himſelf upon one ſide, he ſent immediate orders to have Hueſcar put to death.

The arrival of Almagro, on the other hand, cauſed ſome embarraſſment in Pizarro's affairs. This commander, finding that Pizarro had ſeized the ynca, with immenſe treaſures, and having already experienced his ill faith, conſulted with his principal officers about leaving Pizarro's part to himſelf and ſeeking their fortune elſewhere. Whilſt this was in agitation, his ſecretary, moved by ſome reſentment to his maſter, gave Pizarro notice of the deſign. In an inſtant Pizarro ſaw how diſadvantageous ſuch a ſtep muſt prove to him, with ſo ſmall a force, all reſources at a diſtance, and the country exaſperated by the deteſtable action he had lately committed. He ſaw that all depended upon removing every ſuſpicion from the breaſt of Almagro. For this purpoſe, and as ſomething of an ill mind appeared in his moſt maſterly actions, he began by ſacrificing the ſecretary. He informed Almagro of his treachery. Next,

though gold was the great object of his undertakings, yet he knew how to relinquish ſome part to ſecure the reſt. He agreed to divide the ſpoil equally between Almagro and himſelf, and to make no diſtinction between the ſoldiers of either in the diſtribution. This made an entire and hearty reconciliation; which was no ſooner concluded than the ynca's ranſom came in.

By this vaſt treaſure, the capital object of all their labours and villanies, no ſooner came into their poſſeſſion, but in its conſequences it was very near being the utter ruin of their affairs. It is ſaid, and not improbable, that the whole exceeded the ſum of one million five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, a ſum vaſt at the preſent time; then it was a prodigy. On the dividend, after deducting a fifth for the emperor, and the ſhares of the chief commanders and officers, each private ſoldier had above two thouſand pounds Engliſh money. They had now made a fortune even beyond their imaginations; but the ſoldiery was ruined, the greateſt part of the army inſiſted upon being diſcharged, that they might enjoy their fortunes in quiet. This propoſal ill ſuited with the ambitious views of the commanders. Almagro was for proceeding in the uſual way, to enforce obedience by the ſeverity of military diſcipline; but Pizarro oppoſed him. "Let them go, ſays he, they cannot do us better ſervice; here we ſhall

all have them mutinous and cowardly soldiers, at home they will act for us as recruiting officers with great success; for when it shall be seen that common soldiers, of so little merit as they, have made such large fortunes, we shall not long want better men to supply their places." The desire of soldiers was complied with, and as many as chose to go, who were no inconsiderable number, departed. In due time, the sagacious prophecy of Pizarro was accomplished, and their army never wanted re-inforcements.

In the mean time the unfortunate Atabaliba, the greatness of whose ransom only convinced the Spaniards of the necessity of never releasing him, endeavoured to take advantage of his captivity, to know the genius and manners of his people. Amongst all their accomplishments, there was nothing he so much admired as the art of reading and writing. This appeared almost incomprehensible to him, though he saw clearly the use of it. He was at a loss to know whether he should consider it as a natural endowment, or as an acquisition of art. To discover this, he one day desired a soldier to write the name of God upon his nail: he carried this about the army, desiring several to explain it, which they all did, to his wonder and satisfaction. At last he shewed it to Pizarro, but Pizarro blushed, and could make nothing of it. The ynca then perceived it was no natural gift, but owing to education;

the

the want of which he thus diſcovered in Pi
zarro, and ſlighted him for it. This morti
fied the general, and his diſguſt, joined t
his natural cruelty and a policy he thought th
ſaw in the proceeding, made him haſten th
fate he had ſometime before determined for hi
unhappy priſoner. That nothing might b
wanting to the boldneſs and atrociouſneſs o
their barbarity, they proceeded againſt him
by way of trial, and by the forms of law.

A charge was exhibited, digeſted under
ſeveral heads. 1ſt, For being an idolater.
2dly, For having many concubines. 3dly,
For waſting the treaſures of the kingdom,
and raiſing taxes ſince the coming in of the
Spaniards. And laſtly, For the murder o
his brother Hueſcar. An attorney-general
was appointed to manage the accuſation, and
an advocate appointed from amongſt them-
ſelves aſſigned for his defence. In vain did
the more numerous and better part of the
army proteſt againſt this proceeding, and
lodge an appeal to Spain; in vain did they
alledge their want of power to judge a
foreign prince for any crimes, and the ab-
ſurdity of the crimes with which this prince
was charged. Before ſuch judges, and with
ſuch an advocate to defend him, the ynca
was condemned to be burned alive. To
complete this violation and mockery of all
laws, human and divine, the fame father
Vincent, who had ſo ſignalized himſelf upon
a former occaſion, was ſent to comfort and
inſtruct him in his laſt moments. The chief

argument

rgument which he uſed to convert him to hriſtianity was, that on his embracing the aith, inſtead of being burned, his ſentence ould be mitigated to ſtrangling. This rince ſubmitted to baptiſm, and was imediately ſtrangled in priſon. Pizarro gave he final ſtroke to his hardened and ſhameeſs villainy, by giving him a magnificent uneral, and going into mourning.

The death of the ynca was no ſooner read abroad, than the principal nobility t Cuſco ſet up the brother of Hueſcar; Pizarro ſet up a ſon of Atabalipa; and two enerals of the Peruvians ſet up for themelves. Thus was this wretched country orn to pieces at once by foreigners, and by a omeſtic war amongſt themſelves. Yet ſuch s the preference of any ſort of ſpirit rouſed thin a nation, to a lethargic inactivity, hat the Peruvians gained ſome conſiderable dvantages over the Spaniards, even in this iſtracted condition, and took ſeveral priners, amongſt which was the attorneyeneral, whom they put to the death he deerved, without any great formality. The eſt of the priſoners, as ſoon as they were informed of their having proteſted againſt the mperor's death, they generouſly releaſed. Theſe advantages gained by the Peruvians ade the Spaniards liſten to a treaty; for izarro was equally ready at all times to make a peace, or to break it, as his affairs equired. He made uſe of this interval to ettle the Spaniards in the country. It was

now

now that he laid the foundations of the famous city of Lima. But as ſoon as he judged himſelf in a condition to proſecute it, he renewed the war with the Indians, and, after many difficulties, made himſelf maſter of Cuſco, then the capital of the empire.

But, whilſt he was thus by force and fraud eſtabliſhing himſelf every where, the whole fabric of his deſigns was ſhaken by a a freſh diſpute between him and his collegue Almagro. Theſe commanders had little mutual affection, and leſs confidence in each other's honour and integrity; for ſimilarity of manners is no ground of friendſhip, but where the manners are good in themſelves. Their common neceſſities, it is true, obliged them for a time to keep a fair appearance; but each, ſatisfied of the other's ill intentions, watched an opportunity of being beforehand in ſome ſiniſter advantage.

New grants and ſupplies had lately arrived from Spain. Pizarro obtained two hundred leagues along the ſea-coaſt, to the ſouthward of his former government. Almagro had a grant of two hundred more to the ſouthward of Pizarro's. Judging, or pretending he judged, that the wealthy and important city of Cuſco was not included within Pizarro's grant, he immediately ceaſed to act in ſubordination to him, and claimed this city as his property. Pizarro's brother, who commanded for him, abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the place. Almagro inſiſted on it with equal obſtinacy; and they were on the

point

point of deciding the diſpute by the ſword, when Pizarro, the moment he had notice of the quarrel, ſet out from Lima, where he was at that time indiſpoſed, and, notwithſtanding his infirmity, with incredible expedition arrived at Cuſco. He told his colegue, that he was not unable nor afraid to ſupport the juſtice of his claim by arms; but he choſe rather to convince him by reaſon; that the ties which ſubſiſted between them, and their common neceſſities, would always touch him with concern when he ſhould be compelled to violent courſes; which, however they might end with regard to the competitors, would certainly, be much more in favour of the common enemy. He demonſtrated to him that Cuſco was indubitably within his (Pizarro's) government, and ended in aſſuring him, that, as he would defend his own right with all his force, ſo he was equally willing to employ all that force, with all his treaſure, and all his counſel, and whatever aſſiſtance he could give, to put Almagro into poſſeſſion of whatever was really his right; that this lay yet more to the ſouthward than Cuſco, and was a country no way inferior in its riches, and the eaſineſs of its conqueſt.

This timely appearance of Pizarro, his dexterous management, and judicious mixture of firmneſs and flexibility, made ſuch an impreſſion upon Almagro, that he was once more reconciled; and, adding as many of Pizarro's troops to his own as he judged

neceſſary

neceſſary, he penetrated with great dange and difficulty into Chili, loſing many of hi men whilſt he paſſed over mountains of an im menſe height, and always covered with ſnow He ſucceeded, notwithſtanding, in a good meaſure in his deſigns, for he reduced a va luable and conſiderable part of that country.

There was undoubtedly in the four hun dred leagues which Pizarro had ſolicited fo himſelf, enough of land to ſupply any rea ſonable ambition, and ſomething to ſpare, t ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of the reſt; bu his eagerneſs after a large territory made him blind to the folly of dividing his troops, an ſending Almagro upon a wild diſtant expe dition; and yet he conſidered this as a ma ſter-piece of policy. A little time, however convinced him to the contrary.

No ſooner did the ynca perceive this di viſion of the Spaniſh troops, than he deſire leave from Pizarro's brother, who manage affairs for him at Cuſco, to aſſiſt at a ſolem feſtival of his nation, which was to be hel at ſome diſtance. This feaſt was in reality ſort of an aſſembly of the ſtates of the king dom. The ynca, having obtained permiſſio to aſſiſt at it, made uſe of this opportunity t repreſent to his ſubjects, in the moſt pathet manner, the miſery to which the nation wa reduced; the ſettlement of the Spaniards, th cities they had built, the garriſon they kep at Cuſco, and the guard they had on his own perſon. That, for their ſakes, he was now reſolved to hazard that perſon, and ever

thing that was dear to him; that now was the time to make the effort with ſucceſs, when their enemies, divided amongſt themſelves, had ſeparated in ſearch of other kingdoms, to ſatisfy an ambition that nothing could ſatiate.

The whole aſſembly united in theſe ſentiments; they rouſed the country every where, and the Spaniards, who remained in Peru, were not able to prevent the ynca from laying ſiege to Cuſco, with an army of two hundred thouſand men. Though the garriſon under Ferdinand Pizarro conſiſted of no more than ſeventy men, yet, with their artillery, the ſallies made with their horſe, and aſſiſted by the ignorance of the Peruvians in carrying on a ſiege, their defence was as ſucceſsful as it was brave.

News was brought to Almagro of the dangers to which Cuſco was expoſed, and the univerſal inſurrection of the Peruvians. Relinquiſhing his new conqueſts, he haſtened back to preſerve his old with great expedition; though on his return he ſuffered as much from drought and heat, as in his progreſs he had endured from cold. At his approach the Indians raiſed the ſiege, and he was joyfully received into Cuſco by Ferdinand Pizarro, and the garriſon, almoſt exhauſted by the length of the defence.

After all theſe long and laborious marches, Almagro was extremely fatigued, and thought it hard, that now in the wane of his life he ſhould be driven with infinite toil upon new

conqueſts, while Pizarro ſat down at eaſe to enjoy alone the fruits of their common labours. He reſolved to renew his claim to Cuſco; he had now a ſort of right to it by having raiſed the ſiege, and he had a ſtrength ſufficient to ſupport that right. Ferdinand and Gonzalo, the two brothers of Pizarro, making ſome oppoſition, were thrown into priſon, and their little army either joined him, or ſhared the ſame fate.

Pizarro, unacquainted with the arrival of Almagro or the ſtep he had taken, had got together an army for the relief of Cuſco, who were near the town before they found they had an enemy of any other ſort than the Indians to contend with. Almagro, after having tried in vain to ſeduce their fidelity, engaged and routed them. On this advantage, his friends repreſented to him, that now was the happy hour of his fortune, and that he ought to employ it to eſtabliſh himſelf beyond all poſſibility of being removed. That he ought to put the Pizarros, his priſoners, to death, and march directly to Lima, to ſeize upon his rival, who never could be heartily reconciled to him, and whilſt he remained in poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſt, could never want means of making his enmity terrible.

Almagro had humanity enough to reject the firſt part of this counſel, and weakneſs enough not to hearken to the laſt. If he marched into another's government, he trembled at the name of a rebel; and, for fear of the name, expoſed himſelf to ſuffer the pu-

niſhment of the thing; not conſidering that, having once embrued his hands in civil blood, he ought never to ſtop till his end was gained; that conqueſt alone could decide the queſtion of their right; and that he who had the greater force, would have the beſt means of protection, if he was in the wrong. Whilſt he deliberated what courſe to take, Gonzalo Pizarro made his eſcape with an hundred of thoſe who were affected to his cauſe.

It was the intereſt of Pizarro, who found himſelf in no immediate condition to carry on the war, yet poſſeſſed all the means of being reinforced, to keep matters from coming to an extremity; it was Almagro's to bring them to a ſpeedy iſſue; and, in this knowledge of the management of time, when to lie by to gain it, and when to uſe the preſent moment, the great ſkill in buſineſs, ſo little underſtood, depends almoſt entirely. Pizarro had recourſe to the old way of treaty; he promiſed largely, he offered a ſea-port, and agreed to ſubmit the decision of all their diſputes to the royal audience; but, as a preliminary, he inſiſted on the releaſe of his brother Ferdinand. Experienced as Almagro was in Pizarro's faith, he gave up the only pledge that could ſecure it. The moment Ferdinand was releaſed, he was put at the head of the reinforcements Pizarro had long expected, and now received; and, as he was a man of capacity, he prepared to act with vigour. The treaty was forgotten.

The country which held for Almagro was ſeparated from that which Pizarro poſſeſſed by vaſt mountains, paſſable only in ſome ſteep and dangerous defiles. Almagro's counſellors adviſed him by all means to poſt his troops in ſuch a manner as to oppoſe his enemies in thoſe paſſes; but ſo infatuated was he with a falſe ſecurity, that he refuſed to ſend any troops to occupy thoſe important poſts, which were ſeized by the enemy without the leaſt oppoſition. He had, however, one reſource left, and that a good one. The town of Cuſco was well fortified, had a good garriſon, and the enemy was ill provided for carrying on the ſiege. But as he had prejudiced his affairs before by dilatory meaſures, he now completely ruined them by precipitation and temerity. He turned his back upon the advantages of his ſituation, and reſolved, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, to hazard his fortune in the field; confident of his own ſuperiority, and full of contempt of the enemy, whom he believed to be raw troops. But he found too late, that they were veterans of great bravery, and exact diſcipline. The engagement was warm; in which Almagro and his troops behaved in ſuch a manner as not to diſgrace their former exploits; but, after a gallant ſtruggle, they were in the end entirely defeated. Almagro himſelf was taken priſoner, and fell, at the age of ſeventy-three years, a victim to a raſhneſs ſcarce excuſeable in a young ſoldier; but to the laſt degree blameable in an experienced

rienced commander, who, being ſuppoſed to have long eſtabliſhed his reputation for courage beyond all doubt, ought to model his conduct only by his own experience, and the circumſtances of the affair in which he is engaged.

Pizarro, having got the rival who had cauſed him ſo many apprehenſions into his hands, reſolved to ſhew him no mercy. In ſpite of Almagro's age, which, as it might remove his fears, ought to have given room for pity; in ſpite of their common warfare, their dangers and triumphs; in ſpite of every ſentiment of gratitude for what this unfortunate man had contributed to his greatneſs, and in ſpite of his late mercy to his brother; all which were pathetically and ſtrongly urged by Almagro, to ſuffer an old man, and a priſoner too, after ſo many fruitleſs toils, to die quietly in his bed; Pizarro was deaf to every thing but a barbarous policy, which made him ſubmit every virtue to ſecuring the meaneſt part of his deſigns. Almagro was formally tried, ſentenced, and then ſtrangled in priſon. His body was afterwards beheaded publicly on a ſcaffold, and for a long time denied burial. A negro ſlave interred it by ſtealth. Amidſt the pity which this barbarous execution cauſed, people could not forbear recollecting the unhappy fate of Atahualpa, and the ſhare which Almagro had in it.

Whilſt this civil war raged, the ynca took a very extraordinary reſolution. He diſban-

ded his troops and retired to the mountains; "Becauſe, ſays he, whilſt we are in arms, their fear of us will be a means of uniting the Spaniards; but if we diſperſe, they will certainly deſtroy each other." A reſolution this, which at firſt view has ſomething maſterly, but it is only when viewed in one light. When their natural prince is fled, the people who muſt be governed may give the reins of government into the hands of the enemy. An army once diſperſed is got together again with great difficulty; and, on the other hand, a civil war is by no means a certain deſtruction to thoſe who are engaged in it: and, indeed, by the reaſon of the thing, and by the event, it was an ill-judged ſtep, the ſcheme of a barbarous prince, who was far from being a conſummate politician.

It was very ruinous to the Peruvians, that happening to be divided amongſt themſelves when the Spaniards came in, they ſuffered them to interfere in their parties; but it was of yet worſe conſequence, that when the Spaniards were afterwards divided, they interfered themſelves in the Spaniſh parties. Almagro and Pizarro had armies of Indians, by which thoſe people were habituated to obey them, and to be intereſted in their ſucceſs; this joined to the want of any regular plan of defence on the part of their king and commanders, ſubdued that empire to Pizarro with ſmall trouble, if we conſider the greatneſs of the object; but having atchieved ſo great a conqueſt, it only made Pi-

zarro

zarro acquainted with other great tracts which were rich, and might be added to them. He followed the tracts of Almagro into Chili, and reduced a conſiderable part of the country. Orellana, one of his commanders, paſſed the Andes, and ſailed down to the mouth of the river of Amazons; an immenſe navigation, which diſcovered a rich and delightful country; but as it is moſtly flat, and therefore not abounding in minerals, the Spaniards then, and ever ſince, neglected it.

The death of Almagro, and the influence it had upon the conduct of Pizarro, is a ſtriking example how neceſſary it is for a great man to have an awe upon him from ſome oppoſition, that may keep his prudence alive, and teach him to have a watch upon his paſſions. Not content with a territory upwards of eight hundred leagues long, and of a prodigious breadth; riches ſuch as none of the kings of his country had ever poſſeſſed, a juriſdiction little leſs than royal, and an abſolute ſecurity for the extinction of the only perſon who had any pretenſions againſt him, either through a jealouſy which often haunts the happieſt fortune, or through a pride which cannot bear even the appearance of any who had once withſtood his power, he took a reſolution entirely to cut off all that had ever adhered to his rival; he did not know when the iſſue of blood ought to be ſtopped; nor that examples of ſeverity on a few, create terror and ſubmiſſion, but that threats

threats of general deſtruction produce nothing but deſpair and deſperate reſolutions.

He was not ſatisfied with putting many to death, but iſſued a proclamation, inhibiting, under the ſame penalty, that any perſon ſhould harbour, or even relieve an Almagrian with the neceſſaries of life. This party was yet numerous, though diſperſed and lurking about the country. The heads of them, finding Pizarro implacable, entered into a conſpiracy to murder him. They did not want adherents in the city, ſo that they found means of concealing themſelves until their plot ſhould be ripe for execution; but by ſome means Pizarro diſcovered their deſigns, and ſuffered them to know he had diſcovered them. Alarmed at this information, they ſaw nothing could happen but death at any ſide. Twelve of the chiefs marched into the ſtreets at noon-day, with their ſwords drawn, crying out, "Long live the King! but let the traitor die;" and croſſing the great ſquare of Lima, made directly to Pizarro's palace; the reſt followed in different parties. The people all the while ſuſpended, and in that inactive amazement which the execution of a bold and ſudden enterprize generally inſpires, made no oppoſition. The conſpirators ſecured the avenues; and Pizarro, not alarmed until he was ſurrounded by his enemies, fell under their ſwords after having ſold his life dearly.

Thus died Pizarro, by an event extremely memorable. A great conqueror, in the city

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he had himself built, in his own palace, amidst his guards, murdered at noon-day by the hands of a small number of fugitives. The Peruvians had the satisfaction to see the second of their conquerors cut off by the same sword that had afflicted themselves.

When Pizarro had fallen in consequence of those cruel and ill-judged steps which he took for his security, the Almagrians, elate with their success, and growing into a formidable body, seized upon the city, and proclaimed the natural son of old Almagro governor; a youth not twenty years of age, but of a courage and capacity not absolutely unequal to a charge of such importance, undertaken in circumstances so critical. But tho' the Almagrians succeeded beyond their hopes, by the consternation caused by the suddenness of the attempt, and the general dislike of the cruel procedure of Pizarro; the major part of the Spaniards were far from acquiescing in this irregular nomination of a governor. A considerable number, and those of the best men, declared, that, without interesting themselves in the quarrel of either party, they would wait for the emperor's determination, which they expected hourly, and to which alone they were resolved to conform themselves.

In this state of things the new governor Vaca di Castro arrived. This man was of a good family, and by profession a lawyer; but, through a more rigid adherence to the strictest ideas of right and justice than is suitable to the coarseness of practice, he did not make that

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figure in his profeſſion to which his great capacity entitled him. But what kept him backward at the bar, recommended him firſt to the knowledge, and afterwards to the eſteem, of his maſter the emperor Charles the Vth, who was a man of too much diſcernment not to be ſtruck with a character ſo ſingular as was that of one who was a lawyer without exerciſing the trade of law, and lived at court without being a courtier. Therefore, withoutany ſolicitationof hisown, withoutany recommendation from a miniſter or favourite, this man's plain unoſtentatious virtue placed him in an employment of ſo great a truſt.

When he arrived in the Indies, he ſtill preſerved his character, he acted like one who came neither to acquire friends nor fortune, but ſolely to do his duty; and he ſhewed favour or diſapprobation to all in proportion as they performed their's. Indian or Spaniard was entirely alike to the equality of his juſtice. He flattered nobody, he threatened nobody; and, whilſt he lived with all the modeſty of a private man, he ſupported all the dignity of a governor.

He was hardly landed, when young Almagro ſent him an embaſſy, explaining the reaſons of his conduct, and propoſing terms; but Caſtro anſwered him, that he was come under the emperor's authority, ſolely to do him and every body juſtice; of which, if a good ſubject, he could have no room to complain; if a bad one, he muſt prepare to feel it: he knew no other terms. This was new

language

language to governors in this part of the world, who almoſt forgot they had a ſuperior. Almagro therefore was reſolved to abide the fortune of war, rather than ſubmit without ſuch terms as might enſure him the government of his father's province at leaſt. On the other hand, Caſtro would hear of no terms between a king and his ſubjects, and therefore ſet himſelf at the head of his troops, which were compoſed of thoſe who had refuſed to obey Almagro, and gave him battle. The victory was on his ſide, but not without a bloody diſpute.

Several of Almagro's officers, in hopes of procuring favour for themſelves, betrayed his cauſe in the battle; but Caſtro was far from thinking their treachery to their leader could be reckoned a ſervice to the crown, and therefore ſpared none of them in the numerous executions he found it neceſſary to make on this occaſion. None of the ſufferers was more pitied than Almagro, who behaved with the utmoſt gallantry in the engagement, as he had done with much humanity and honour upon moſt occaſions. He was taken and beheaded.

The ſeverity of this procedure, whilſt it terrified every body, drew no odium upon the governor, who acted clearly without prejudice or ſelf-intereſt. They looked on theſe executions like judgments from heaven, which afflict us bitterly, but leave no room for murmur or complaint againſt the hand that inflicts them. To the followers of Pizarro,

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who valued themſelves on their late ſervice, and murmured that they were not rewarded better than he thought they deſerved, he ſhewed little favour. He told them, he could well diſtinguiſh between what was done out of a ſpirit of party, and what proceeded from principle of loyalty to their ſovereign; that they might look upon themſelves as very happy, that he ſuffered their laſt action to obliterate the memory of all their others. In ſhort, he proceeded with ſuch conſtancy, that the Spaniards were reduced to an entire ſubjection, and the Indians treated by them as fellow-ſubjects and fellow-creatures. The clergy he made to attend diligently to the duty of their function, and to the converſation of the Indians, rather than to the acquiſition of their gold. He modelled the adminiſtration of juſtice in the exacteſt manner. He founded ſeveral towns, and eſtabliſhed ſchools and colleges in them, and placed the royal revenues on ſuch a footing, that the conqueſt of Peru became immediately a great public advantage, which formerly was little more than an object of private plunder. But, whilſt he remained himſelf poor among ſome of the richeſt confiſcations that ever were made, and whilſt he enriched the royal treaſury with moſt prodigious remittances, the great men at court received no preſents. This induced them to get a number of judges appointed, whoſe authority over-ruled that of Caſtro. The end was anſwered, diſputes aroſe; the colony was unſettled; appeals

nd complaints innumerable came home, and reſents from all ſides. But what anſwered he preſent end of the courtiers, was near opping up the ſpring of bribery for the fu- ure. In the confuſion that aroſe, from ſuch aſhing juriſdictions and the ſchemes of men ntent upon their own intereſts, it was not ard for Gonzalo, the brother of the famous izarro, to avail himſelf of the general diſ- ontent, and to ſet himſelf at the head of a arty.

It was now no longer a diſpute between overnors about the bounds of their juriſ- ctions; Gonzalo Pizarro only paid a no- inal ſubmiſſion to the emperor. He engthened daily, and even went ſo far as behead a vice-roy who was ſent to curb im. There was a fleet at this time in the outh-Seas, and he had addreſs enough to gain e admiral to his intereſt; by which means was able to over-awe the coaſt of Mexico, d prevent any force coming againſt him from at part. He even entertained hopes of ining the Spaniards in that kingdom to join his revolt.

The court, juſtly alarmed at this progreſs, ving felt the ill effect of ſending men who re recommended to their poſts by impor- nity and cabal, as they had experienced the neficial conſequences of employing perſons oſe character only pleaded for them, ſent icentiate in divinity, called Peter de la ſca, a man differing only from Caſtro, by ng of a milder and more inſinuating be-

haviour; but with the ſame love of juſtice the ſame greatneſs of ſoul, and the ſame di intereſted ſpirit. This mildneſs of characte ſuited the circumſtances of the times, as we as the rigid juſtice of Caſtro, did thoſe i which he was appointed; for, as the revo was now almoſt general, he could find n friends but ſuch as he could make; becauſe though he was inveſted with the ampleſt au thority from Spain, he neither carried me to enforce it, nor money; and the whole ſuc ceſs of the expedition reſted ſolely in his ow capacity.

When he arrived in Mexico, he declare that his was a peaceable profeſſion; that h came not to exerciſe ſeverities, but to heal b gentle meaſures the effects of thoſe whi were formerly exerciſed. He even wrote very obliging letter to Pizarro, perſuadi him to ſubmit, and offering him a free pa don for himſelf and his aſſociates. In t mean time, he was not wanting in more v gorous meaſures; but, by his engaging a dreſs, and the reputation of his probity, n ſed large ſums of money, and ſome hundre of men. Pizarro, puffed up by his ſucce received the ambaſſador with great haugh neſs, and ſent his anſwer, which was li wiſe that of his aſſociates, by the admir it was, in effect, that neither would he yi up his government, nor would they ſubm to have any other governor.

The admiral had inſtructions to try wh bribery would do, and, if that failed, to

he city of Panama, and bring off the new ice-roy priſoner. However, during their onferences, the affair took abſolutely another turn, and the admiral, inſtead of conveying Gaſca a priſoner to Peru, tranſported im thither with all his forces, returning to is allegiance himſelf, and perſuading all his dherents to be hearty in the royal cauſe. he viceroy did not at all alter the profeſſions nd behaviour he had uſed in Mexico; but, very where proclaiming peace and pardon at he head of a powerful force, he drew the ities of Lima and Cuſco from the party of izarro; who, finding himſelf obliged to vacuate the moſt conſiderable places of rength, with very unequal forces hazarded battle, in which he was made priſoner. He as ſoon after condemned and executed, with hoſe who had been the chief inſtruments of is rebellion.

Such an ill ſtar governed all thoſe who had ſhare in the reduction of Peru! Almagro eheaded; his ſon ſharing the ſame fate; izarro murdered in his own palace; his brother Ferdinand kept a priſoner twenty-three ears; and his brother Gonzalo, as we have uſt ſeen, ſuffering death as a traitor. The ew governor, having by neceſſary ſeverities uieted his province, took effectual care to eal its diſorders by the arts of peace, and to omplete what Caſtro had been obliged to ave unfiniſhed. He ſettled the civil government, the army, and the mines, upon ſuch baſis as made the province worthy to be

plundered by future viceroys. He carried over two millions to the royal treasury, paid all his debts, and sate down as poor in Spain as he had left it.

The reduction of the great empires of Peru and Mexico makes almost the only thing very much worth insisting upon in the American history. A few skirmishes with a savage people, and some voyages and discoveries exactly resembling each other, changing only the names and situations, is the matter, which, in our opinion, unprofitably fills so many volumes, and contains very little of either curiosity or instruction.

CHILI.

THis country is situated between twenty-five and forty-five degrees of south latitude, and between sixty-five and eighty-five degrees of west longitude, being about one thousand two hundred miles in length, and five hundred in breath. It is bounded on the north by Peru, on the east by La Plata, on the south by Patagonia, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean.

The air here is remarkably clear and serene; scarce any changes happen for three parts of the year, and very little rain falls during that period. But the benign dews every night, and the many rivulets which the neighbourhood of the Andes supplies them, fertilize the plain country, and make it

produce as much corn, wine, oil, and uits, as the number of the inhabitants, hich is very ſmall, or their induſtry, which but moderate, will ſuffer them to culti- ate.

If it were under a more favourable govern- ent, and better peopled, there is hardly y part of the world which could enter into ompetition with this. For at the ſame- me that it enjoys a very healthful air, and warmed by an heat no way oppreſſive, it ears many of the tropical fruits that would rive no where elſe out of the torrid zone. is luxuriant on the ſurface, with every ing for profit and delight; and beneath it rich to profuſion with veins of gold, ſilver, pper, lead, quickſilver, and iron. Thoſe gold are the moſt wrought; and indeed ere is ſcarce a rivulet in the country, in hich gold is not found in ſmaller or greater enty; but want of people, which is here ore felt than in the other Spaniſh ſettle- ents, hinders them from working all their ines, and, what is worſe, from improving e ſurface of their country to any thing ke the degree of perfection to which it ight be brought. For in this whole ex- nt of country, it is not reckoned they have uch above twenty thouſand whites fit to ear arms, and about three times that num- er of Indians, blacks, and mulattoes. Yet, ith ſo few hands, and thoſe not the moſt duſtrious, they export annually from the orts of Chili, to Calloa, and other parts of

Peru, corn enough to ſupport ſixty thouſand men; for no country in the wold is more prolific in grain of every ſpecies; they export beſides, great quantities of wine, hemp (which is raiſed in no other part on the South-Seas,) hides, tallow, and ſalted proviſions; to ſay nothing of the gold, and other minerals, which form their principal wealth.

The people are much employed in paſturage; and cattle are here in ſuch plenty that an ox fatted may be had for four dollars, a great proof of the fertility of a country where there is no ſcarcity of money. But as they have a conſiderable trade in dried and ſalted beef, hides, and tallow, they conſtantly drive great numbers of horned cattle from the other ſide of the Andes from the province of Tucuman in Paraguay. Chili has but a very few beaſts of prey, and thoſe timerous; and although toads, ſnakes and ſcorpions, are here as numerous as in other hot countries, they are found entirely harmleſs.

There are in Chili four towns of ſome note, either on the ſea, or near it; St. Jago, which is the capital, and contains about four thouſand families, La Conception, Coquimbo or La Serena, and Baldivia. The three firſt of theſe towns are laid out in a manner exactly reſembling each other, the ſtreets like thoſe of Lima, cutting one another ſo as to form ſquares like thoſe of a draft-board. They have all gardens between

houſes, and running waters drawn from neighbouring rivers to fertilize them; but the houſes are ſo low and meanly built (mud walls, and thatch in ſome) that they rather reſemble agreeable country villages, than cities of buſineſs and grandeur.

However, ſome of the houſes are well furniſhed, and it is ſaid, that in St. Jago there are many, which have the meaneſt utenſils of the kitchen, of gold and ſilver. As for Baldivia, it is not more remarkable for being the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the South-Seas, than for the manner in which it is peopled; for hither the criminals from Peru and the other parts of Chili are tranſported, either for a time or for life, and obliged to labour upon the fortifications and other public works. What is ſingular, theſe criminals are at once the priſoners and the jailers; for the garriſon of the place, the whole corps, ſoldiers and officers, is formed of no other. The town contains about two thouſand ſouls, and all of them baniſhed people, or the deſcendants of ſuch.

The maritime trade of Chili is entirely confined to what they carry on with Peru, one or two ports of New Spain, and Panama. Their ſhips rarely penetrate the ſtraits of Magellan, or paſs Cape Horn. But they have a conſiderable inland commerce with Tucuman, Buenos-Ayres, and other parts of Paraguay, from which they get the herb of Paraguay, bees-wax, and cattle.

As

As in Chili, they are weak in men, have a large body of independent Indians, ill-affected to them on their borders. As the Dutch once attempted an eſtabliſhment here, and as other people have nouriſhed projects of the ſame nature; they are extremely cautious and watchful on the coaſt, and the country is immediately in arms upon every alarum, which is given when any ſhip appears off the coaſt that is not Spaniſh built: yet, notwithſtanding all their caution, their ſecurity is rather owing to the ſyſtem of Europe, of which it is a part to keep the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in the hand of the preſent proprietors, and to the difficult and dangerous paſſage of the ſtraits of Magellan or Cape Horn, for any European armament of force, than either to their own ſtrength or vigilance.

The Indian inhabitants of Chili are a brave and warlike people, who defended their liberties vigorouſly, made ſeveral ſucceſsful inſurrections, killed Peter Baldivia, the conquerer of the country, and maintained a war againſt the whole Spaniſh power in that part of the world for ſeveral years; which was only terminated, on the part of ſeveral of the nations near the mountains, by an honourable peace, which is preſerved to this day.

None can be more jealouſly watchful than this people of their freedom. They traffic indeed with the Spaniards, but with ſo much caution, and under limitations ſo ſtrict, that they

ey can take very little advantage of this mmunication. As for thoſe who are obli- d to ſubmit, it is to a yoke nothing near ſo avy as that which oppreſſes the people who habit the other Spaniſh provinces; partly om the better terms which were procured, d partly from the fear of a nation, whom ey have experienced to be brave, and know be ſurrounded with many, who are of the me blood, and have defended their freedom th better ſucceſs. A good example, even the unfortunate, how much a brave de- nce of liberty may contribute to procure, nothing elſe, yet a more tolerable ſervi- de.

The Indians of this country have more re- mblance to thoſe of North America, though ore humane and civilized in their manners, an to the Peruvians and Mexicans. Here ey have leſs ſuperſtition naturally; and, from having that exceſſive veneration hich thoſe nations had for their kings, they ve no kings at all, and very little form of vernment; each family being ſovereign thin itſelf, and independent. The buſineſs hich concerns them all, is tranſacted in the emblies of all, and the plurality of voices cides. They are much given to liquor; d they practiſe polygamy, which in Ame- ca is not common.

However, the Spaniſh miſſionaries have now ade a conſiderable progreſs amongſt theſe e nations; they have a college for the ucation of the Indian youth, and their in-

fluence

fluence is a great means of preſerving peace between the Spaniſh ſettlements and the free Indians on their borders, which, without their aſſiſtance, would be difficult. For, though they liſten to the Spaniſh prieſts, they preſerve a very juſt terror of falling under their government, and no ſmall hatred to the people.

PARAGUAY, *or* LA PLATA.

THIS country is ſituated between twelve and thirty-ſeven degrees of ſouth latitude, and between fifty and ſeventy five degrees of weſt longitude, being one thouſand five hundred miles in length, and one thouſand in breadth. It is bounded on the North by Amazonia, on the Eaſt by Brazil, on the South by Patagonia, and on the Weſt by Peru and Chili.

This vaſt territory is far from being wholly ſubdued or planted by the Spaniards. There are many parts in a great degree unknown to them, or to any other people of Europe. In ſuch a vaſt country, and lying in climates ſo different, we muſt expect to meet great diverſity of ſoil and product. However, in general, this great country is fertile, the paſtures particularly are ſo rich, that they are covered with innumerable herds of black cattle, horſes, and mules; in which hardly any body thinks it worth his while to claim

property. Any perſon takes and breaks them according to his occaſions.

This country, beſides an infinite number of ſmaller rivers, is watered by three principal ones, which unite near the ſea, to form the famous Rio de la Plata. The firſt is Paraguay, from whence the country is denominated; this forms the main channel, It has its origin from a great lake in the center of South America, called the lake of Xarayes, and runs in a courſe nearly North and South. Parana, which riſes amongſt the mountains in the frontiers of Brazil, runs a ſloping courſe to the South-Weſt, until it joins the Paraguay, at a great diſtance from the ocean, about the twenty-ſeventh degree of South latitude. Uraguay riſes likewiſe upon the ſame ſide, and runs almoſt an equal courſe before it meets thoſe united rivers at no great diſtance from the ocean, with which it mixes along with them.

The principal province which concerns us, in this vaſt tract, is that which is called Rio de la Plata, towards the mouth of the above-mentioned rivers. This province, with all the adjacent parts, is one continued level, interrupted by not the leaſt hill for ſeveral hundreds of miles every way, extremely fertile in moſt things; but, contrary to the general nature of America, deſtitute of woods; this want they endeavour to ſupply by plantations of every kind of fruit trees, all which thrive here to admiration. The air is remarkably ſweet and ſerene, and the waters of

the great river are equally pure and wh
ſome; they annually overflow their banks
and, on their receſs, leave them enriche
with a ſlime, which produces the greate
plenty of whatever is committed to it.

The principal town is Buenos-Ayres, o
the ſouth ſide of the river; it was ſo calle
upon account of the excellence of the ai
This town is the only place of traffic to th
ſouthward of Brazil; yet its trade, conſide
ing the rich and extenſive country to whic
it is the avenue, is very conſiderable. N
regular fleet comes here, as to the othe
parts of Spaniſh America; two, or at mo
three regiſter ſhips make the whole of the
regular intercourſe with Europe. The
returns are very valuable, conſiſting chiefl
of gold, ſilver, ſugar, and hides. They hav
not opened any conſiderable mines in thi
province; but it is probable there are ric
ones in the provinces which lies to the eaſ
ward of the Andes; beſides, it is certai
that a good deal of gold is returned fro
Chili, for the mules, cattle and tea, whic
are ſent thither; and that ſilver from th
province of Los Charcas, in Peru, is ſen
upon the ſame account, for the moſt part b
land-carriage. There is beſides a tolerabl
water carriage; for a larger river, called Pi
comayo, riſes not far from the mines of Po
toſi, which, winding amongſt the opening
of the Cordillera, diſcharges itſelf at laſt int
the Paraguay; and this river is navigable t
the very ſource, allowing for the interruptio

of ſome falls, which is the caſe of the river of Plata itſelf.

The trade of Paraguay, and the manners of the people, are ſo much the ſame with thoſe of the reſt of the Spaniſh colonies in South America, that nothing further can be ſaid on thoſe articles; but it would be inexcuſable to quit the country without ſaying ſomething of that extraordinary ſpecies of commonwealth which the jeſuits have erected in the interior parts.

About the middle of the laſt century, thoſe fathers repreſented to the court of Madrid, that their want of ſucceſs in their miſſions was owing to the ſcandal which the immorality of the Spaniards never fail to give, and to the hatred which their inſolent behaviour cauſed in the Indians wherever they came. They inſinuated, that, if it were not for that impediment, the empire of the goſpel might, by their labours, have been extended into the moſt unknown parts of America; and that all thoſe countries might be ſubued to his Catholic majeſty's obedience without expence, and without force.

This remonſtrance was liſtened to with attention, the ſphere of their labours was marked out, an uncontrouled liberty was given to the jeſuits within theſe limits, and the governors of the adjacent provinces had orders not to interfere, nor to ſuffer any Spaniard to enter into this pale, without licence from the fathers. They on their part agreed, to pay a certain capitation tax in

proportion to their flock, and to ſend a certain number to the king's works whenever they ſhould be demanded, and the miſſions ſhould become populous enough to ſupply them.

On theſe terms, the jeſuits entered upon the ſcene of action, and opened their ſpiritual campaign. They began by gathering together about fifty wandering families, whom they perſuaded to ſettle, and they united them into a little townſhip. This was the ſlight foundation upon which they have built a ſuperſtructure, which has amazed the world, and added ſo much power, at the ſame time that it has brought on ſo much envy and jealouſy to their ſociety. For when they had made this beginning, they laboured with ſuch indefatigable pains, and with ſuch maſterly policy, that, by degrees, they mollified the minds of the moſt ſavage nations, fixed the moſt rambling, and ſubdued the moſt averſe to government. They prevailed upon thouſands of various diſperſed tribes of people to embrace their religion, and to ſubmit to their government; and when they had ſubmitted, the jeſuits left nothing undone, that could conduce to their remaining in that ſubjection, or that could tend to increaſe their number to the degree requiſite for a well-ordered and potent ſociety, and their labours were attended with ſucceſs.

It is ſaid, that, from ſuch inconſiderate beginnings, ſeveral years ago, their ſubjects amounted

amounted to three hundred thouſand fami-lies. They lived in towns, they were regu-larly clad, they laboured in agriculture, and they exerciſed manufactures: ſome even aſpired to the elegant arts. They were in-ſtructed in the military with the moſt exact diſcipline, and could raiſe ſixty thouſand men well armed. To effect theſe purpoſes, from time to time, they brought over from Europe ſeveral handicraftſmen, muſicians, and painters. Theſe, were principally from Germany and Italy.

We are far from being able to trace, with the exactneſs they deſerve, all the ſteps which were taken in the accompliſhment of ſo ex-traordinary a conqueſt over the bodies and minds of ſo many people, without arms or violence, and differently from the methods of all other conqueſts; not by cut-ting off a large part of the inhabitants to ſe-cure the reſt, but by multiplying their peo-ple, whilſt they extended their territory. Their own accounts are not very ample, and they are partial to themſelves without doubt. What ſome others have written, is with a glaring prejudice againſt them. The parti-culars which ſeem beſt agreed upon by both ſides are the only ones to be mentioned

It is agreed then, that in each miſſion or diſtrict (the country is divided into forty-ſeven diſtricts) a jeſuit preſides in chief. But magiſtrates are ſettled in every town, anſwerable to thoſe in the Spaniſh cities;

these are always Indians, elected by the people, and approved by the presiding jesuit: on solemn occasions they appear in rich robes of ceremony, attended with a suitable retinue, and every thing which may make for the dignity of their government. The people, which compose this commonwealth, are composed chiefly of two nations or tribes, one called Garanies, the other Chiquitos. The latter are active, lively and ingenious, therefore their œconomy is more left to themselves; and they have something of property, but there is something too in common. Amongst the Garanies there is no property; every thing is done under the public eye, and for the public; for otherwise this people, naturally lazy and stupid to the last degree, would be in perpetual want. Each man's labour is allotted him in proportion to his strength, or to his skill in the profession which he exercises. The product is brought faithfully into the public magazines; from whence he is again supplied with all things which the managers judge to be expedient for the sustenance of himself or his family. All necessaries are distributed regularly twice a week; and the magazines always contain such a stock of provisions and goods of every kind, as to answer not only the ordinary exigencies, but to provide against a time of scarcity, or for those who by accidents, age, or infirmities, have disqualified for labour. Thus want is never known among

mongſt them; their villages are cleanly and decent, greatly exceeding thoſe of the Spaniards in their neighbourhood. Their churches are particularly grand and richly adorned; and ſervice is in them performed with all the ſolemnity and magnificence of cathedrals; nor are good voices and inſtruments wanting.

They provide early for the marriage of their young people, as well to prevent diſorders, as to multiply their ſubjects. Here, as intereſt can be no motive to their union, there are few difficulties attending it. The young man applies to the governing jeſuit, informs him of his deſire of marriage, and names the party: ſhe is conſulted, and, if there is no objection upon her part, they are immediately married. They are ſupplied with all neceſſaries for their eſtabliſhment from the public ſtores, and they have at the ſame time their taſk allotted them, by which they are to make amends for what they have received, and to provide for others in their turn.

The Indian magiſtrate is obliged continually to watch over the minuteſt actions of his people, and to give the jeſuit an exact account of the ſtate of his diſtrict, and the merit and demerit of the people which it contains. They are rewarded or puniſhed according to this report. The puniſhment for ſmaller crimes is by impriſonment, for greater by whipping, from which it is ſaid not even

the principal magiſtrates are exempted. Capital puniſhments they do not inflict, as indeed crimes deſerving ſuch puniſhments are rarely committed amongſt them. The correction is received by all, not only with patience, but acknowledgment. The rewards are ſeldom more than *benedictions*, and ſome ſlight marks of the jeſuit's favour, which make thoſe men entirely happy.

Nothing can equal the obedience of the people of theſe miſſions, except their contentment under it. Far from murmuring, that they have only neceſſaries of life, by a labour which might in ſome degree procure them the conveniencies of it, they think themſelves a diſtinguiſhed and favoured people in wanting them; and they believe their obedience a duty, that not only ſecures their order and repoſe in this world, but the very beſt means of inſuring their happineſs in the next. This is carefully inculcated; and indeed, beſides their attention to the government, the jeſuits are indefatigable in their inſtructions in the doctrines of religion, the regularity of life, and the contempt of this world.

The jeſuits who govern them, are ſaid to be extremely ſtrict in preſerving their privilege in keeping all ſtrangers from amongſt them. If any ſuch ſhould, by accident or in his journey arrive in the country of the miſſions, he is immediately carried to the prefoytery, where he is treated, for a day or two at moſt, with great hoſpitality; but re-

garded

garded with no leſs circumſpection. The curioſities of the place are ſhewed him in company with the jeſuit, and he can have no private converſation with any of the natives. In a reaſonable time, he is civilly diſmiſſed, with a guard to conduct him to the next diſtrict, without expence, where he is treated in the ſame manner, until he is out of the country of the miſſions. Cautions altogether as ſtrict, and in the ſame ſpirit, are obſerved, when the natives are obliged to go out of their own territory to ſerve in the king's works, or when any part of their troops are called out for his ſervice. They ſhun all manner of converſation with ſtrangers, upon whom they look with a ſort of horror; and ſo return, uninformed and untainted, into their own country, as they left it.

To judge perfectly of the ſervice the jeſuits have done their people, we muſt not conſider them in a parallel with the flouriſhing nations of Europe, but as compared with their neighbours, the ſavages of South America, or with the ſtate of thoſe Indians who groan under the Spaniſh yoke. Conſidering it in this, which is the true light, it will appear, that human ſociety is obliged to them for adding to it three hundred thouſand families in a well regulated community, in the room of a few vagabond untaught ſavages. And indeed, it can ſcarce be conceived, that the government has not ſome extraordinary perfection, which has a principal of increaſe within it, which draws others to unite themſelve

ſelves to the old ſtock, and ſhoots out itſelf luxuriance of new branches. Neither cu we by any means, blame a ſyſtem whic produces ſuch ſalutary effects; and whic has found that difficult, but happy way, th grand deſideratum in politics, of uniting perfect ſubjection to an entire content an ſatisfaction of the people. Matters, which it were to be wiſhed, were ſtudied with mor attention by us, who content ourſelves wit railing at the diligence of an adverſary, which we ſhould rather praiſe and imitate; and who, in our affairs, ſeldom think o uſing any other inſtruments than force o money.

TERRA FIRMA.

THIS extenſive tract of land is ſituated between ſixty and eighty-two degree of weſt longitude, and between the equator and twelve degrees of north latitude, being about one thouſand four hundred miles in length, and ſeven hundred in breadth. It is bounded on the north by the North Sea, (part of the Atlantic Ocean;) on the eaſt by the ſame ſea and Surinam, on the ſouth by the country of the Amazons and Peru, and on the weſt by the Pacific Ocean and New Spain.

The country of the Amazons, though prodigiouſly large, wonderfully fertile, and watered by ſo noble a river, is almoſt entirely neglected,

glected. The river of Amazons, called o Maranon and Orellana, which waters d gives its name to this country, ariſing om the union of ſeveral ſtreams that fall om the Cordillera, runs a courſe of no leſs an eleven hundred leagues; it flows for e greater part through a level country, vered with the faireſt and loftieſt foreſts in e world, in which it forms an innumerable ultitude of delightful iſlands; and receiv- g on both ſides the copious tribute of ſe- eral rivers almoſt equal to itſelf in greatneſs, creaſing in breadth to a ſort of ſea, and to a epth which in ſome parts has been in vain arched with a line of upwards an hundred thoms; it ruſhes at length into the Atlantic Ocean by two mouths of an aſtoniſhing wide- eſs, the principal being forty-five leagues road, the ſmaller not leſs than twelve. The ountry on this fine river has no other inha- itants than Indians, ſome ſavage, ſome ited under Spaniſh and Portugueſe miſ- onaries.

The country of Patagonia is likewiſe of a aſt ſtretch to the ſouthward of Buenos yres, all in the temperate zone, and ex ending all along the Atlantic ocean. It is a lain country without trees; but this is the aſe of the delightful and fertile country of uenos-Ayres. It is ſaid likewiſe to be arren and deſart; but, what is certain, it unſettled by any European nation, and ittle known, though it lies open for any

power

power that can avail itſelf of a favourab opportunity to eſtabliſh a colony there.

Terra Firma is divided into twelve larg provinces. They all contain a vaſt deal of hig and mountainous country, particularly the pr vince St. Martha, where there are ſaid to b hills ſurpaſſing Teneriffe itſelf in height. The hills communicate with the Andes. Th vallies are deep and narrow, and for a grea part of the year flooded ; but though Terr Firma is on the coaſt, the moſt unpleaſan and moſt unhealthful country in the torid zon the plain grounds are extremely fertile, pro duce corn enough, when cultivated, a kinds of the tropical fruits, rich drugs, ca cao, vanilla, indigo, piemento, guaiacum ſarſaparilla, and balſam of Peru.

No country abounds more in rich an luxuriant paſturage, or has a greater ſtock o black cattle. Their rivers have rich golden ſands ; their coaſts have good pearl fiſheries and their mines formerly yielded great quan tities of gold; but at preſent they are neglect ed or exhauſted ; ſo that the principal wealth of this kingdom ariſes from the commerce o Carthagena ; and what treaſure is ſeen there is moſtly the return for European commo dities which are ſent from that port to Santafe Popayan, and Quito : and rubies and eme ralds are here found in plenty ; but the value of precious ſtones depending more on fancy than that of gold or ſilver, this trade ha conſiderably declined.

This province has a very conſiderable ſhare of the trade of Europe ; not only on

count of its own produce and demand, but cauſe all the intercourſe of Peru and Chili h Old Spain is carried on through this untry.

Its capital city, Panama, is the great bar- dier of the South-Sea. Hither is brought the treaſure which the rich mines of Pe- and Chili pay to the king, or produce on a private account. The city of Pa- ma is ſituated upon one of the beſt har- ours, in all reſpects, of the South-Seas. ips of burden lie ſafe at ſome diſtance from e town; but ſmaller veſſels come up to the lls. In this bay is a pearl fiſhery of gre t lue. The town, one of the largeſt in merica, is ſaid to contain five thouſand ouſes, elegantly built of brick and ſtone, ſpoſed in a ſemicircular form, and enliven- with the ſpires and domes of ſeveral urches and monaſteries. It is covered on e land ſide with an agreeable country, di- erſified with hills, valleys, and woods. he town ſtands upon a dry and tolerably ealthful ground, and has a great and profit- ble trade with Peru, Chili, and the weſtern oaſt of Mexico, chiefly for proviſions of ery ſort both of the animal and vegetable nds; corn, wine, ſugar, oil, with tallow, ather, and jeſuits bark. In the neigh- ourhood of this city they raiſe nothing; nd yet, by traffic and their convenient ſitu- ion, there are few cities more abundantly pplied with all things for neceſſity, con- enience, or luxury. Their trade with the

Terra

Terra Firma and with Europe is carried
over the iſthmus of Darien, and by the ri
Chagra.

The ſecond town of conſideration in T
ra Firma, is Carthagena, which ſtands up
a peninſula, that incloſes one of the ſaf
and beſt defended harbours in all the Spa
America. The town itſelf is well fortifi
and built after the elegant faſhion of moſt
the Spaniſh American towns, with a ſqu
in the middle, and ſtreets running eve
way regularly from it, and others cutti
theſe at right angles. This town has ma
rich churches and convents; that of t
jeſuits is particularly magnificent. Here
is that the galleons on their voyage fro
Spain put in firſt, and diſpoſe of a conſide
able part of their cargoe; which from hen
is diſtributed to St Martha, the Caracca
Venezuela, and moſt of the other provinc
and towns in the Terra Firma.

The fleet which is called the galleon
conſiſt of about eight men of war, of abo
fifty guns each, deſigned principally to ſu
ply Peru with military ſtores; but in realit
laden not only with theſe, but with ever
other kind of merchandize on a private a
count; ſo as to be in bad condition for d
fending themſelves, or protecting other
Under the convoy of theſe, ſail about twel
merchant ſhips, not inferior in burde
This fleet of the galleon is regulated in muc
the ſame manner with the flotas, and it
deſtined for the excluſive commerce of Ter
Firm

Firma and the South-Sea, as the flota is for that of Mexico.

No ſooner is this fleet arrived in the haven of Carthagena, than expreſſes are immediately diſpatched to Porto-bello, and to all the adjacent towns, but principally to Panama; that they may get ready all the treaſure which is depoſited there, to meet the galleons at Porto-bello, in which town, (remarkable for the goodneſs of its harbour, which brings ſuch a ſurpriſing concourſe here at the time of the fair, and the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, which makes it a deſart at all other times) all the perſons concerned in the various branches of this extenſive traffic aſſemble; and there is certainly no part of the world where buſineſs of ſuch great importance is negociated in ſo ſhort a time. For in about a forthnight the fair is over; during which the diſplay of the gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, on the one hand, and of all the curioſity and variety of the ingenious fabrics of Europe on the other, is aſtoniſhing. Heaps of wedges and ingots of ſilver are tumbled about on the wharfs like common things. At this time an hundred crowns are given for a poor lodging, a thouſand for a ſhop, and proviſion of every kind is proportionably dear; which may help us to ſome idea of the profits made in this trade. The treaſure is brought hither from Panama, by a very dangerous road, upon mules. The other goods, ſugar, to-

bacco, and drugs, are tranſported on the river Chagro.

When the galleons have taken in their returns, they ſteer together to the Havanna, which is the place of rendezvous of all the ſhips concerned in the Spaniſh American trade.

The Havanna is the capital city of the iſland of Cuba, it is ſituated upon an excellent harbour upon the weſtern extremity of the iſland. This city is large, containing not leſs than two thouſand houſes, with a number of churches and convents; but then it is the only place of conſequence upon the noble iſland of Cuba, which lies in the latitude twenty, and extends from eaſt to weſt near ſeven hundred miles in length, though in breadth it is diſproportioned, being but from one hundred and twenty to ſeventy miles. However, it yields to no part of the Weſt-Indies in the fertility of its ſoil, or in excellence of every thing which is produced in that climate. But the Spaniards, by a ſeries of the moſt inhuman and impolitic barbarities, having exterminated the original inhabitants, and not finding the quantities of gold in the iſlands which the continent afforded, they have left this, as well as Hiſpaniola, of which the French now poſſeſs the greater part, and Porto Rico, a large, excellent, and fertile iſland, comparatively ſo many deſarts.

The

The commerce between theſe iſlands and the Spaniſh continent, is carried on by the Barlevento fleet, conſiſting of ſix ſhips of good burden and force, who annually make the tour of all theſe iſlands, and the coaſt of Terra Firma, not only to carry on the commerce between thoſe places, but to clear the ſea of pirates and illicit traders. Now and then a regiſter ſhip from Old Spain is bound to one or other of theſe iſlands. Hitherto the Spaniards ſeemed rather to keep them, to prevent any other nation from growing too powerful in thoſe ſeas, than for any profit they expected to derive from them. And it is certain, that if other nations ſhould come entirely to poſſeſs the whole of the iſlands, the trade of the American continent, and perhaps the continent itſelf, would be entirely at their mercy.

PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS.

ANY material diſcovery, whether in the arts, in philoſophy, or in navigation, has ſeldom been owing to efforts made directly for that particular purpoſe, and determined by the force of reaſonings *a priori*. The firſt hints are owing to accident, and diſcoveries in one kind preſent themſelves voluntarily to us, whilſt we are in ſearch of what flies from us in ſome other.

The diſcovery of America by Columbus, was owing originally to a juſt reaſoning on the figure of the earth, though the particular land he diſcovered was far enough from that which he ſought. Here was a mixture of wiſe deſign and fortunate accident; but the Portugueſe diſcovery of Brazil may be conſidered as merely accidental. For ſailing with a conſiderable armament to India, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, but ſtanding out to ſea to avoid the calms upon the coaſt of Africa, the Portugueſe fleet fell in upon the continent of South America,

Upon their return they made ſo favourable a report of the land they had diſcovered, that the court reſolved to ſend a colony thither. And accordingly made their firſt eſtabliſhment; but in a very bad method, in which it were to be wiſhed they had never been imitated. This was by baniſhing thither a number of criminals of all kinds. This blended an evil diſpoſition with the firſt principles of the colony, and made the ſettlement infinitely difficult by the diſorders inſeparable from ſuch people, and the offence which they gave the original inhabitants.

This ſettlement met with ſome interruption too from the court of Spain, who conſidered the country as within their dominions. However, matters were accommodated by a treaty, in which it was agreed, that the Portugueſe ſhould poſſeſs all that tract of land that lies between the river Maranon, or of the Amazons, and the river Plate.

When

When their right was thus confirmed, the Portugueſe purſued the ſettlement with great vigour. Large grants were made to thoſe who were inclined to become adventurers; and almoſt all the nobility of Portugal procured intereſts in a country which promiſed ſuch great advantages. The natives were in moſt parts ſubdued, and the improvement of the colony advanced apace. The crown in a little time became attentive to ſo valuable an acquiſition; the government was new modelled, many of the exorbitants recalled, and all things ſettled upon ſo advantageous a footing, that the whole ſea-coaſt, upwards of two thouſand miles, was in ſome meaſure ſettled, to the honour of the induſtry and courage of the firſt planters, and infinitely to the benefit of the mother-country. The Portugeſe conqueſts on the coaſt of Africa forwarded this eſtabliſhment, by the number of negroes it afforded them for their works; and this was the firſt introduction of negroes into America, of which at preſent they form a large part of the inhabitants.

In the very meridian of their proſperity, when the Portugueſe were in poſſeſſion of ſo extenſive an empire, and ſo flouriſhing a trade in Africa, in Arabia, in India, in the iſles of Aſia, and in one of the moſt valuable parts of America, they were ſtruck down by one of thoſe incidents, that by one blow, in a critical time, decides the fate of kingdoms. Don Sebaſtian, one of their greateſt princes

in an expedition he had undertaken againſt the Moors, loſt his life; and by that accident the Portugueſe loſt their liberty, being abſorbed into the Spaniſh dominions.

Soon after this misfortune, the ſame yoke that galled the Portugueſe, grew ſo intolerable to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, that they threw it off with great fury and indignation. Not ſatisfied with erecting themſelves into an independant ſtate, and ſupporting their independency by a ſucceſsful defenſive war, flushed with the juvenile ardor of a growing commonwealth, they purſued the Spaniards into the remoteſt receſſes of their extenſive territories, and grew rich, powerful, and terrible, by the ſpoils of their former maſters. Principally, they fell upon the poſſeſſions of the Portugueſe; they took almoſt all their fortreſſes in the Eaſt-Indies, not ſufficiently defended by the inert policy of the court of Spain; and then turned their arms upon Brazil, unprotected from Europe, and betrayed by the cowardice of the governor of the then principal city. And they would have over-run the whole, if Don Michael de Texeira, the archbiſhop, deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Portugal, and of a ſpirit ſuperior to his birth, had not believed, that in ſuch an emergency, the danger of his country ſuperſeded the common obligations of his profeſſion. He took arms, and at the head of his monks, and a few ſcattered forces, put a ſtop to the torrent

torrent of the Dutch conquest. He made a gallant stand until succours arrived; and then resigned the commission with which the public necessity and his own virtue had armed him, into the hands of a person appointed by authority. By this stand he saved seven of the captain ships or provinces, out of fourteen, into which Brazil is divided; the rest fell into the hands of the Dutch, who conquered and kept them with a bravery and conduct, which would deserve more applause, if it had been governed by humanity.

The famous captain, prince Maurice of Nassua, was the person to whom the Dutch owed this conquest, the establishment of their colony there, and that advantageous peace which secured them in it. But as it is the genius of all mercantile people to desire a sudden profit in all their deligns, and as this colony was not under the immediate inspection of the States, but subject to the company called the West-India Company, from principles narrowed up by avarice and mean notions, they grudged that the present profits of the colony should be sacrificed to its future security. They found that the prince kept up more troops, and erected more fortresses, than they thought necessary to their safety; and that he lived in a grander manner than they thought became one in their service. They imagined that a little official œconomy was the principal quality necessary to form a great conqueror and politician;

ſician; and therefore they were highly diſpleaſed with their governor prince Maurice, whom they treated in ſuch a manner as obliged him to reſign.

Now their own ſchemes took place. A reduction of the troops, the expence of fortifications ſaved, the charge of a court retrenched, the debts of the company ſtrictly exacted, their gains increaſed, cent. per cent. and every thing flouriſhed according to their beſt ideas of a flouriſhing ſtate. But then, all this fine ſyſtem in a ſhort time ended in the total loſs of all their capital, and the entire ruin of the Weſt-India Company. The hearts of ſubjects were loſt, by their penurious way of dealing and the ſeverity of their proceedings. The enemy in their neighbourhood was encouraged by the defenceleſs ſtate of their frontiers, and both operated in ſuch a manner, that Brazil was reconquered by the Portugueſe, though after a ſtruggle, in which the States exerted themſelves vigorouſly; but with that aggravated expence, and that ill ſucceſs, which always attends a late wiſdom, and the patching up of a blundering ſyſtem of conduct. A ſtanding leſſon to thoſe people who have the folly to imagine they conſult the happineſs of a nation, when, by a pretended tenderneſs for ſome of its advantages, they neglect the only things that can ſupport it, the cultivating of the good opinion of the people, and the keeping up of a proper force.

The

The name of Brazil was given to this country, becauſe it was obſerved to abound with a wood of that name. It extends all along a tract of fine ſea coaſt upon the Atlantic Ocean upwards of two thouſand miles, between the river of Amazons on the north, and that of Plate on the ſouth. To the northward, the climate is uncertain, hot, boiſterous, and unwholeſome. The country, both there, and even in more temperate parts, is annually overflowed. But to the ſouthward beyond the tropic of Capricorn, and indeed a good way beyond it, there is no part of the world that enjoys a more ſerene and wholeſome air; refreſhed with the ſoft breezes of the ocean on one hand, and the cool breath of the mountains on the other. Hither ſeveral aged people from Portugal retire for their health, and protract their lives to a long and eaſy age.

In general, the ſoil is extremely fruitful, and was found very ſufficient for the comfortable ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, until the mines of gold and diamonds were diſcovered. Theſe with the ſugar plantations, occupy ſo many hands, that agriculture lies neglected; and, in conſequence, Brazil depends upon Europe for its daily bread.

The chief commodities which this country yields for a foreign market are, ſugar, tobacco, hides, indigo, ipecacuanha, balſam of Copaibo, and Brazil wood. As this laſt article in a more particular manner belongs to this country, to which it gives its name,

and

and which produces it in the greateſt perfection, it will not be amiſs to allow a very little room to the deſcription of it.

This tree generally flouriſhes in rocky and barren grounds, in which it grows to a great height and conſiderable thickneſs. But a man who judges of the quantity of the timber, by the thickneſs of the tree, will be much deceived; for, upon ſtripping off the bark, which makes a very large part of the plant, he will find, from a tree as thick as his body, a log no more in compaſs than his leg. This tree is generally crooked and knotty, like the hawthorn, with long branches, and a ſmooth green leaf, hard, dry, and brittle. Thrice a year bunches of ſmall flowers ſhoot out at the extremities of the branches, and between the leaves. Theſe flowers are of a bright red, and of a ſtrong aromatic and refreſhing ſmell. The wood of this tree is of a red colour, hard and dry. It is uſed chiefly in dying red, but not a red of the beſt kind; and it has ſome place in medicine as a ſtomachic and reſtringent.

The trade of Brazil is very great, and it increaſes every year. Nor is this a wonder, ſince they have opportunities of ſupplying themſelves with ſlaves for their ſeveral works, at a much eaſier and cheaper rate than any other European power, which has ſettlements in America; for they are the only European nation which has taken the pains to eſtabliſh colonies in Africa.

Thoſe

Thoſe of the Portugueſe are very conſiderable, both for their extent and the numbers of their inhabitants; and of courſe they have advantages in that trade which no other nation can have. For beſides their large eſtabliſhment on the weſtern ſhore of Africa, they claim the whole coaſt of Zanguebar on the eaſtern ſide, which in part they poſſeſs, beſides ſeveral other large territories, both on the coaſt and in the country, where ſeveral numerous nations acknowledge themſelves their dependants or ſubjects.

This is not only of great advantage to them, as it increaſes their ſhipping and ſeamen, and ſtrengthens their commercial reputation, but as it leaves them a large field for their ſlave trade; without which, they could hardly ever ſupply, upon any tolerable terms; their ſettlements in Brazil, which carry off ſuch numbers, by the ſeverity of the works and the unwholſomeneſs of ſome part of the climate; nor could they otherwiſe extend their plantations, and open ſo many new mines as they do, to a degree which is aſtoniſhing.

The Portugueſe tobacco is remarkably good, and they trade very largely in this commodity to the coaſt of Africa, where they not only ſell it directly to the natives, but ſupply the ſhips of other nations, who find it a neceſſary article to enable them to carry on the ſlave and gold duſt trade to advantage. The northern and ſouthern parts

of

of Brazil abound in horned cattle; theſe are hunted for their hides, of which no leſs than twenty thouſand are ſent annually into Europe.

The Portugueſe were a conſiderable time poſſeſſed of their American empire, before they diſcovered the treaſures of gold and diamonds, which have ſince made it ſo conſiderable. After the expulſion of the Dutch, the colony remained without much attention from the court of Portugal, until 1685, when a miniſter of great ſagacity adviſed the then monarch to turn his thoughts to ſo valuable and conſiderable a part of his territories. He repreſented to him, that the climate in the Bay of All-Saints, where the capital ſtood, was of ſuch a nature as to deaden the activity and induſtry of the people; but that the northern and ſouthern extremities of Brazil, in a more temperate climate, invited them to the cultivation of the country.

The advice was taken; but becauſe it was found that the inſolence and tyranny of the native Portugueſe always excited the hatred of the native Brazilians, and conſequently obſtructed the ſettlements, they were reſolved to people the countries, which were now the object of their care, with thoſe who are called Meſtizes; that is, a race ſprung from a mixture of Europeans and Indians, who they judged would behave better; and who on account of their connexion in blood, would be more acceptable to the Brazilians on the borders, who were not yet reduced.

To

To complete this deſign, they veſted the government in the hands of prieſts, who acted each as governor in his own pariſh or diſtrict. And they had the prudence to chuſe with great care ſuch men as were proper for the work.

The conſequence of theſe wiſe regulations was ſoon apparent; for, without noiſe or force, in fifteen years, they not only ſettled the ſea coaſt, but, drawing in vaſt numbers of the natives, they ſpread themſelves above an hundred miles more to the weſtward than the Portugueſe ſettlements had ever extended. They opened ſeveral mines, which improved the revenues; the planters were eaſy, and ſeveral of the prieſts made no inconſiderable fortunes.

The fame of theſe new mines drew together a number of deſperadoes and adventurers of all nations and colours, who, not agreeing with the moderate and ſimple manners of the inhabitants of the new ſettlements, nor readily ſubmitting to any order or reſtraint elſewhere, retired into a mountainous part of the country, but fertile enough, and rich in gold; where, by the acceſſion of others in their own circumſtances, they ſoon became a formidable and independent body, and for a long time defended the privileges they had aſſumed with great courage and policy.

They were called Pauliſts, from the town and diſtrict called St. Paul, which was their

head-quarters. But, as this odd commo
wealth grew up in ſo unaccountable a ma
ner, ſo it periſhed in a manner altogether u
known in this part of the world. It is no
heard of no longer. The king of Portug
is in full poſſeſſion of the whole country, an
the mines are worked by his ſubjects an
their ſlaves, paying him a fifth. Theſe min
have poured almoſt as much gold into Eu
rope as the Spaniſh America had of ſilver.

Not many years after the diſcovery of th
gold mines, Brazil, which for a century ha
been given up as a place incapable of yiel
ing the metals for which America was chief
valued, was now found to produce diamon
too; but at firſt of ſo unpromiſing a natur
that the working of the mines was forbidde
by the court of Portugal, leſt, without mak
ing any compenſation by their number
they might depriciate the trade which w
carried on in thoſe ſtones from Goa. But
in ſpite of this prohibition, a number wer
from time to time ſmuggled from Brazil
and ſome too of ſuch great weight, and hig
luſtre and tranſparency, that they yielde
very little to the fineſt brought from Indi
The court now perceived the importance o
the trade, and accordingly reſolved to per
mit it, but under ſuch reſtrictions as migh
be ſufficiently beneficial to the crown an
ſubject; and at the ſame time preſerve th
jewels in that ſcarcity which makes the prin
cipal part of their value.

I

In 1740, the diamond mines were farmed one hundred and thirty-eight thouſand ruſadoes, or about twenty-ſix thouſand ounds ſterling annually, with a prohibition ainſt employing more than ſix hundred ves at a time in the works. It is probable at this regulation is not very ſtrictly com- ed with; the quantity of diamonds being uch increaſed, and their value of courſe nk, ſince that time. It is true, that dia- onds of the very firſt rank are nearly as ar as ever. None of the diamonds of Bra- have ſo high a luſtre as the firſt rate of olconda; and they have generally ſome- ing of a duſky yellowiſh caſt; but they ve been found of a prodigious ſize. Some ars ago we had an account in the news pa- rs of one ſent to the king of Portugal, a ſize and weight almoſt beyond the unds of credibility; for it was ſaid to eigh ſixteen hundred carats, or ſix thouſand ven hundred and twenty grains; and con- quently muſt be worth ſeveral millions.

St. Salvador is the capital of Brazil, where the fleets rendezvous on their return to ortugal. This city commands a noble, acious, and commodious harbour. It is uilt upon an high and ſteep rock, having e ſea upon one ſide, and a lake, forming a eſent, inveſting it almoſt wholly, ſo as early to join the ſea on the other. This tuation makes it in a manner impregnable y nature; but they have beſides added to

it very ſtrong fortifications. All theſe mak it the ſtrongeſt place in America. It is di vided into an upper and lower town. Th lower conſiſts only of a ſtreet or two, imme diately upon the harbour, for the conve nience of lading and unlading goods, whic are drawn up to the higher town by ma chines. The ſtreets in the upper town ar laid out as regularly as the ground will admit and are handſomely built. They had fort years ago, in this city, above two thouſan houſes, and inhabitants proportionable; ſumptuous cathedral; ſeveral magnificen churches, and many convents, well buil and endowed. The Portugueſe fleet ſets ou from Liſbon in its voyage hither in the mont of February.

DUTCH SETTLEMENTS.

AFTER the Portugueſe had diſpoſſeſſe the Dutch of Brazil in the manner w have ſeen, and after the treaty of Nimeguen had entirely removed them out of North America, they were obliged to conſole them ſelves with their rich poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, and to ſit down content in the Weſ with Surinam; a country on the North-eaſ part of South America, of no great valu whilſt we had it, and which we ceded to them in exchange for New-York; and with two

three ſmall and barren iſlands in the North
a, not far from the Spaniſh main.

The former of theſe they are far from neg-
cting; they raiſe ſome ſugar in Surinam,
great deal of cotton, coffee of an excellent
ind, and ſome valuable dying drugs. They
ade with our Northern American colonies,
ho bring hither horſes, live cattle, and
roviſions, and take home a large quantity of
olaſſes; but their negroes are only the re-
ſe of thoſe they have for the Spaniſh mar-
et; and the Indians in their neighbourhood
e their mortal enemies. On the ſame con-
nent they have three other ſettlements at
o conſiderable diſtance from each other,
oron, Berbice, and Approwack; none very
reat, but producing the ſame commodities
ith Surinam.

The iſlands which they poſſeſs are four, *Curaſſau*, St. *Euſtatia*, *Aruba*, and *Bonaire*; one of them large or fertile, but turned to the beſt advantage poſſible by that ſpirit of induſtry for which the Dutch are juſtly fa-mous. Curacco, or Curaſſou, as it is gene-rally called, is about thirty miles long, and ten in breadth. Though it is naturally barren, it produces a conſiderable quantity both of ſugar and tobacco, and here are beſides very great ſalt works, which furniſh a good deal to the Engliſh iſlands, and for which there is a conſiderable demand from our colonies on the continent; but the trade for which this iſland is chiefly valuable, is that which in time of war is carried on between them,

the Engliſh and the French; and the contraband which is carried on between them, and the Spaniards at all times.

The Dutch veſſels from Europe touch at this iſland for intelligence or proper pilots, and then proceed to the Spaniſh coaſt upon a trade which they force with a ſtrong hand.

It is very difficult for the Spaniſh guarda coſtas to take theſe veſſels; for they are not only ſtout ſhips with a number of guns, but, by a very wiſe policy, manned with a large crew of choſen ſeamen, who are all deeply intereſted in the ſafety of the veſſel, and the ſucceſs of the voyage. They have each a ſhare in the cargo, of a value proportioned to the owner's ſtation, ſupplied by the merchants upon credit, and at prime coſt. This animates them with an uncommon courage; they fight bravely, becau e every man fights in defence of his own property. But there is, beſides this, a conſtant intercourſe between the Spaniſh continent and this iſland.

This iſland of Curaſſou has its numerous warehouſes always full of the commodities of Europe and the Eaſt-Indies. Here are all ſorts of woollen and linen cloths, laces, ſilks, ribbands, utenſils of iron, naval and military ſtores, brandy, the ſpices of the Moluccas, and the callicoes of India, white and painted. Hither the Weſt-India, which is likewiſe their African company, bring three or four cargoes of ſlaves annually. To this mart, the Spaniards come themſelves in ſmall

veſſels,

veſſels, and carry off not only the beſt of heir negroes, and at the beſt price, but ery great quantities of all ſorts of goods we ave mentioned, with this advantage to the eller, that the refuſe of warehouſes and mer- ers ſhops, things grown utterly unfaſhionable nd unſaleable in Europe, go off extremly ell, where every thing is ſufficiently recom- ended by being European.

They leave here their gold and ſilver in ars or coined, cacao, vanilla, cochineal, je- uit's bark, hides, and other valuable commo- ities. The ſhips that trade directly from Holland to the Spaniſh continent, as they ouch here on their outward paſſage to gain ntelligence or aſſiſtance, on their return ut in here likewiſe to compleat what is want- ng of their cargo, with the ſugar, the to- acco, the ginger and other produce of the land itſelf.

The trade of this iſland, even in time of eace, is reputed to be worth to the Dutch o leſs than 500,000l. ſterling annually, but n time of war the profit is far greater, for hen it is in a manner the common emporium f the Weſt-Indies; it affords a great retreat o the ſhips of all nations, and at the ſame ime refuſes to none of them arms and am- unition to annoy one another. The inter- ourſe with Spain being interrupted, the paniſh colonies have ſcarce any other mar- et, from whence they can be well ſup- lied either with ſlaves or goods; the French ome hither to buy the beef, pork, corn,

flour

flour and lumber, which the Engliſh bring from the continent of North-America, or which is tranſported from Ireland; ſo that whether in peace or in war, the trade of this iſland flouriſhes extremely. Nor is this owing to any natural advantage whatſoever.

It ſeems as if it were fated, that the ingenuity and patience of the Hollanders ſhould every where, both in Europe and America, be employed in fighting againſt an unfriendly nature; for the iſland is not only barren, and dependent upon the rains for its water, but the harbour is naturally one of the worſt in America: yet the Dutch have entirely remedied that defect; they have upon this harbour one of the largeſt, and by far the moſt elegant and cleanly towns in the American iſlands. The public buildings are handſome and numerous, the private houſes commodious, and the magazines large, convenient, and well filled. All kind of labour is here performed by engines; ſome of them ſo dexterouſly contrived, that ſhips are at once lifted into the dock, where they are complety careened; and then furniſhed with naval ſtores, proviſions, cannon, and every thing requiſite either for trade or war.

Euſtatia is but one mountain of about twenty miles in compaſs; it is amongſt the Leeward iſlands; but though ſo ſmall and inconveniently laid out by nature, the induſtry of the Dutch have made it turn out to very good account, and it is fully peopled;

the

the ſides of the mountain are divided and laid out in very pretty ſettlements; and, though they have neither ſprings nor rivers, they are ſo careful that they never want proper ſupplies of water from their ponds and ciſterns. They raiſe here ſugar and tobacco; and this iſland, as well as Curaſſou, is engaged in the Spaniſh contraband trade, for which, however, it is not ſo well ſituated; and it draws the ſame advantages from its conſtant neutrality.

As for Aruba and Bonaire, they lie near Curaſſou, and have no trade of conſequence; they are chiefly employed in raiſing freſh proviſions for the principal iſland, and for the refreſhment of ſuch ſhips as uſe theſe ſeas.

The trade of all the Dutch American ſettlements was originally carried on by the Weſt-India company only. At preſent ſuch ſhips as go upon that trade pay two and a half per cent. for their licences; the company however reſerves to itſelf, the whole of what is carried on between Africa and the American iſlands.

The Danes had likewiſe a Weſt-India company, though its object was far from extenſive. It was little more than the iſland of St. Thomas, an inconſiderable member of the Carribees; lately they have added to their poſſeſſions the iſland of Santa Cruz in the ſame cluſter. Theſe iſlands, ſo long as they remained in the hands of the company, were ill managed, and nothing like the

proper

proper advantage was made of them; but the late king of Denmark, inferior to none who ever ſat upon that or any other throne, in love to his ſubjects, and a judicious zeal for promoting their welfare, bought up that company's ſtock, and laid the trade open. Since then, the old ſettlement at St. Thomas is very much improved; it produces upwards of three thouſand hogſheads of ſugar at a thouſand weight each, and others of the Weſt-Indian commodities in tolerable plenty; and as for Santa Cruz, from a perfect deſart a few years ſince, it is beginning to ſettle faſt; ſeveral perſons from the Engliſh iſlands, and amongſt them ſome of great wealth, have gone to ſettle there, and have received very great encouragement to do ſo.

The air of the place is extremely unhealthful, but this ill diſpoſition will probably continue no longer than the woods with which the iſland at preſent is almoſt wholly covered. Theſe two nations, the Dutch and Danes, hardly deſerve to be mentioned among the proprietors of America; their poſſeſſions there are comparatively nothing. But as they appear extremely worthy of the attention of theſe powers, and as the ſhare of the Dutch is worth to them at leaſt ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year, what muſt we think of our poſſeſſions? what attention do they not deſerve from us, and what may not be made of them by that attention?

Then

There ſeems to be a remarkable providence in caſting the parts, if we may uſe that expreſſion, of the ſeveral European nations who act upon the ſtage of America. The Spaniard, proud, lazy, and magnificent, has an ample walk in which to expatiate; a ſoft climate to indulge his love of eaſe, and a profuſion of gold and ſilver to procure him all thoſe luxuries his pride demands, but which his lazineſs would refuſe him.

The Portugueſe, naturally indigent at home, and enterprizing rather than induſtrious abroad, has gold and diamonds as the Spaniard has, wants them as he does, but poſſeſſes them in a more uſeful, though a leſs oſtentatious manner.

The Engliſh, of a reaſoning diſpoſition, thoughtful and cool, and men of buſineſs rather than of great induſtry, impatient of much fruitleſs labour, abhorrent of conſtraint, and lovers of a country life, have a lot which indeed produces neither gold nor ſilver, but they have a large tract of a fine continent; a noble field for the exerciſe of agriculture, and ſufficient to furniſh their trade without laying them under great difficulties. Intolerant as they are of the moſt uſeful reſtraints, their commerce flouriſhes from the freedom every man has of purſuing it according to his own ideas, and directing his life after his own faſhion.

The French, active, lively, enterprizing, reliable and politic, and though changing their purſuits, always purſuing the preſent

object

object with eagerneſs, are notwithſtandin tractable and obedient to rules and laws, whic bridle theſe diſpoſitions and wind and tur them to proper courſes.

The Dutch have got a rock or two, o which to diſplay the miracles of frugality an diligence, (which are their virtues,) and o which they have exerted theſe virtues, an ſhewn thoſe miracles.

FALKLAND ISLANDS.

HAVING now accompanied our reade through the vaſt continents of Nort and South America, it ſeems neceſſary, be fore we draw to a concluſion, to ſay ſom thing of Falkland Iſland, as well as of th newly diſcovered Otaheite.

Faulkland Iſlands are ſituated in the fift ſecond degree of ſouth latitude, near th ſtraits of Magellan. King Charles the ſ cond of England conſidered the diſcovery this coaſt of ſuch conſequence, that Sir Joh Narborough was purpoſely fitted out to ſu vey the ſtraits of Magellan, the neighbourin coaſt of Patagonia, and the Spaniſh forts that frontier, with directions, if poſſible, procure ſome intercourſe with the Chili Indians, who are generally at war, or leaſt on ill terms with the Spaniards, and

eſtabli

eſtabliſh a commerce and laſting correſpondence with them.

Though Sir John, through accidental cauſes, failed in this attempt, which in appearance promiſed ſo many advantages to this nation; his tranſactions upon that coaſt, beſides the many valuable improvements he furniſhed to geography and navigation, are rather an encouragement for further trials of this kind, than any objection againſt them.

It appears from the precautions and fears of the Spaniards, that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the ſcheme he was ſent to execute, and were extremely alarmed with the apprehenſion of its conſequences. "As therefore it appears, (ſays the author of Anſon's Voyages) that all our future expeditions to the South Seas muſt run a conſiderable riſque of proving abortive, whilſt in our paſſage thither we are under the neceſſity of touching at the Portugueſe ſettlement of Brazil, (where we may certainly depend on having our ſtrength, condition, and deſigns betrayed to the Spaniards) the diſcovery of ſome place more to the ſouthward, where ſhips might refreſh, and ſupply themſelves with the neceſſary ſea ſtock for their voyage round Cape Horn, would be an expedient that would relieve us from theſe embarraſments, and would ſurely be a matter worthy the attention of the public. Nor does this ſeem difficult to be effected; for we have already the imperfect know-

ledge of two places, which might perhaps on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpose: one of them is Pepys Island, in the latitude of forty-seven degrees fourth, and laid down by Dr. Halley about eighty leagues to the eastward of Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia; the other is Falkland Isles, in the latitude of fifty-one degrees and a half, lying nearly fouth of Pepy's Island."

Falkland Islands were first discovered by Sir Richard Hawkins, in the year 1594, the principal of which is named Hawkins Maidenland, in honour of queen Elizabeth. The present English name Falkland, was probably given them by Capt. Strong, in 1689, and being adopted by Halley, it has from that time been so called in our maps.

In the year 1764, the late Lord Egmont then first lord of the admiralty, revived the scheme of a settlement in the South-Seas, and commodore Byron was sent to take possession of Falkland Islands in the name of his Britannic majesty; and in his journal represents them as a valuable acquisition.

The plants and vegetables, which were planted by Mr. Byron's people, and the fir-tree, native of ruggid and cold climates, withered away; but goats, sheep, and hogs, that were carried thither, were found to thrive and encrease as in other places. Geese of a fishy taste, snipes, foxes, sea-lions, penguins, plenty of good water, and, in the summer months,

nonths, wild ſallary and ſorrel, are the na-ural luxuries of theſe iſlands. But though he ſoil is barren, we ſucceeded in the grand bject of a ſettlement here, by the diſcovery f a noble harbour, ſecured from the fury f the winds by ſurrounding mountains, nd which, in time of war, had we not idly eſerted it, would have made us maſters of hoſe ſeas. By our having poſſeſſion of one ood harbour in this ſituation, we ſhould ave been enabled to annoy the trade of pain, and to be very troubleſome to their ettlements, whenever they ſhould have iven us juſt cauſe to turn our arms againſt em.

There is ſomething unaccountable in the heel of politics. We often ſee thoſe mi-ſters who endeavour to rule at home with e iron hand of oppreſſion, are mean and rvile to foreign powers. However, cer-in it is, that this iſland, which we had en led to believe was the key of the South-as, was given up, in the moſt clandeſtine anner, to Spaniſh intrigues.

Lieutenant Gordon, in his majeſty's ſhip e Endeavour, ſailed from the Downs, on e 30th of January, 1773, as was ſuppoſed r Boſton in America; but arriving off the zard, the orders were opened, and the mmander found he was to proceed, with-t delay or loſs of time, for Falkland ands, though they had but *four* months viſions on board. On the 2ed of April,

ſhe arrived at Port Egmont, on Falkland Iſlands, where lieutenant Clayton, commander of his majeſty's ſhallop Penguin, and commanding officer at that place, received orders from the lords of the admirality, to put on board the Endeavour all ſuch ſtores as were ſerviceable, and he and his crew were to embark for England in the Endeavour. Agreeably to theſe inſtructions, on the 22d of May, 1744, they abandoned the iſland and embarked for England.

The news of this event was no ſooner known in England, than it kindled a diſguſt in the boſom of every one who was not the tools of adminiſtration; and it was conſidered as a ſtep diſgraceful to the miniſtry, and prejudicial to the intereſt and honour of the nation.

OTAHEITE.

THE following account of this iſland, taken from Dr. Hawkeſworth's compilation of the voyages to the ſouthern hemiſphere, publiſhed in the year 1773.

The iſland of Otaheite, ſays our author, is ſituated in the South-Sea, between a hundred and forty-nine and a hundred and fifty degrees weſt longitude, and between ſeventeen and eighteen ſouth latitude. It conſiſts of two peninſulas, and meaſures about thirty leagues

leagues in circuit. It is ſurrounded by a reef of coral rock, which forms ſeveral excellent bay's and harbours, where there is room and depth of water for any number of the largeſt ſhips. The face of the country, except that part of it which borders upon the ſea, is very uneven; it riſes in ridges that run up into the middle of the iſland, and there form mountains which may be ſeen at the diſtance of ſixty miles. Between the foot of theſe ridges and the ſea is a border of low land, ſurrounding the whole iſland, except in a few places where the ridges riſe directly from the ſea.

The ſoil is extremely rich and fertile, watered by a great number of rivulets of excellent water, and covered with fruit-trees of various kinds, ſome of which are of a ſtately growth and thick foliage, ſo as to form one continued wood. The low land that lies between the foot of the ridges and the ſea, and ſome of the vallies, are the only parts that are inhabited, and here it is populous. The houſes do not form villages or towns, but are ranged along the whole border at the diſtance of about fifty yards from each other, with little plantations of plantains, the tree which furniſhes them with cloth. The whole iſland could furniſh ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty fighting men, from which the number of inhabitants may eaſily be computed.

Though this island produces no kind of fruit that is common to Europe, nor garden ſtuff, pulſe, legumes, nor grain of any kind, yet it abounds in fruit, &c. of various kinds: theſe, which ſerve the inhabitants for food, the earth produces ſpontaneouſly, or with ſo little culture, that they ſeem to be exempted from the firſt general curſe, that "man ſhould eat his bread in the ſweat of his brow."

Of tame animals, they have only hogs, dogs and poultry; neither is there a wild animal in the iſland, except ducks, pigeons, paroquets, with a few other birds and rats, there being no other quadruped, nor any ſerpent. But the ſea abounds in plenty of moſt excellent fiſh, to catch which is their principal labour.

The inhabitants of Otaheite are of the largeſt ſize of Europeans. The men are tall, ſtrong, well-limbed, and finely ſhaped. The women of the ſuperior rank are alſo above our middle ſtature, but thoſe of the inferior claſs are rather below it: this defect in ſize probably proceeds from their early commerce with men, the only thing in which they differ from their ſuperiors that could poſſibly affect their growth.

The natural complexion of the women is that kind of clear olive, or brunette, which many people in Europe prefer to the fineſt white and red. In thoſe that are expoſed to the wind and ſun it is conſiderably deepened;

t in others that live under ſhelter, eſpe-
lly the ſuperior claſs of women, it con-
ues of its native hue, and the ſkin is moſt
licately ſmooth and ſoft. They have no
t in their cheeks, which we diſtinguiſh by
e name of colour. The ſhape of the face
comely: the cheek bones are not high,
ither are the eyes hollow, nor the brow
ominent: the only feature that does not
rreſpond with our ideas of beauty is the
ſe, which in general is ſomewhat flat;
t their eyes are full of expreſſion, ſome-
nes ſparkling with fire, and ſometimes
elting with ſoftneſs, their teeth alſo are,
ithout exception, moſt beautifully even
d white, and their breath perfectly without
nt.

Their hair is almoſt univerſally black,
d rather coarſe. The men have beards,
hich they wear in many faſhions, always
owever plucking out great part of them,
d keeping the reſt perfectly clean and neat.
th ſexes alſo eradicate every hair from
der their arms, and accuſed the Engliſh
great uncleanlineſs for not doing the ſame.
their motions they are at once vigour and
; their walk is graceful, their deport-
nt liberal, and their behaviour to ſtrangers
d to each other affable and courteous. In
ir diſpoſitions, alſo, they ſeem to be brave,
n, and candid, without either ſuſpicion
treachery, cruelty or revenge. They
re, however, all thieves, and when that
llowed, they need not much fear a com-

petition

petition with the people of any other nation upon earth. During our ſtay in the iſland we ſaw five or ſix perſons whoſe ſkins were of a dead white, like the noſe of a white horſe; with white hair, beard, brows, and eye-laſhes; red, tender eyes; a ſhort ſight, and ſcurfy ſkins, covered with a kind of white down; but we found that no two of theſe belonged to the ſame family, and therefore concluded they were not a ſpecies, but unhappy individuals, rendered anomalous by diſeaſe.

It is a cuſtom in moſt countries where the inhabitants have long hair, for the men to cut it ſhort, and the women to pride themſelves in its length. Here, however, the contrary cuſtom prevails: the women always cut it ſhort round their ears, and the men generally ſuffer it to flow in large waves over their ſhoulders, or tie it up in a bunch on the top of their heads. They have a cuſtom alſo of anointing their heads with an oil expreſſed from the cocoa-nut, in which ſome ſweet herbs or flowers have been infuſed. As the oil is generally rancid, the ſmell is at firſt very diſagreeable to an European; and as they live in a hot country, and have no ſuch thing as a comb, they are not able to keep their heads free from lice, which the children and common people ſometimes pick out and eat---a moſt hateful cuſtom, wholly different from their manners in every other particular; for they are delicate and cleanly almoſt without example, and thoſe to whom

we diſtributed combs ſoon delivered themſelves from vermin, with a diligence which ſhewed that they were not more odious to us than to them.

They have a cuſtom of ſtaining their bodies, nearly in the ſame manner as is practiſed in many other parts of the world, which they call *tatowing*. This operation is performed upon the youth of both ſexes about twelve or fourteen years of age, on ſeveral parts of the body, and in various figures, according to the fancy of the parent, or perhaps the rank of the party. The women are generally marked with this ſtain, in the form of a Z, on every joint of their fingers and toes, and frequently round the outſide of their feet. The men are alſo marked with the ſame figure, and both men and women have ſquares, circles, creſcents, and ill-deſigned repreſentations of men, birds, or dogs, and various other devices impreſſed upon their legs and arms. But the part on which theſe ornaments are laviſhed with the greateſt profuſion is the breech: this, in both ſexes, is covered with a deep black; above which arches are drawn over one another as high as the ſhort ribs. They are often a quarter of an inch broad, and the edges are not ſtrait lines, but indented. Theſe arches are their pride, and are ſhewn both by men and women with a mixture of oſtentation and pleaſure.

Their clothing conſiſts of cloth or matting of different kinds. The cloth, which will not

not bear wetting, they wear in dry weather and the matting when it rains. They are put on in many different ways, juſt as their fancy leads them; for in their garments nothing is cut into ſhape, nor are any two pieces ſewed together. The people of rank are diſtinguiſhed from the inferior ſort only by the quantity of cloth they wrap round them. In the heat of the day, however, they appear almoſt naked, the women having only a ſcanty petticoat, and the men nothing but a ſaſh that is paſſed between the legs and faſtened round the waiſt. In the evening the women of rank ſometimes uncover themſelves as low as the waiſt, throwing off all their upper garments with the ſame negligence and eaſe as our ladies would lay by a cardinal or double handkerchief. The children go quite naked; the girls till they are three or four years old, and the boys till they are ſix or ſeven.

Their houſes are all built in the woods between the ſea and the mountains, and no more ground is cleared for each houſe than what is juſt ſufficient to prevent the dropping of the branches from rotting the thatch with which they are covered: from the houſe therefore the inhabitant ſteps immediately under the ſhade, which is the moſt delightful that can be imagined. It conſiſts of groves of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, without underwood, which are interſected in all directions by the paths that lead from one houſe

ouſe to the other. Nothing can be more rateful than this ſhade in ſo warm a climate, or any thing more beautiful than theſe alks. As there is no underwood, the ade cools without impeding the air; and e houſes, having no walls, receives the le from whatever point it blows.

I ſhall now give a deſcription of a houſe of middling ſize, from which, as the ſtructure univerſally the ſame, a perfect idea may formed both of thoſe that are bigger, and oſe that are leſs.----The ground which it vers is an oblong ſquare, twenty-four feet ng, and eleven wide. Over this a roof is iſed, conſiſting of two flat ſides, inclining to each other, exactly like roofs of our atched houſes. The utmoſt height within about nine feet, and the eves upon each e reach to about three feet and a half of e ground: below this, and through the hole height at each end, it is open, no rt of it being incloſed with a wall. The of is thatched with palm-leaves, and the or is covered ſome inches deep with ſoft y, over which are laid matts; ſo that the hole is one cuſhion, upon which they ſit the day, and ſleep in the night. The ouſe is indeed principally uſed as a dormiry; for, except it rains, they eat in the en air, under the ſhade of the next tree. he clothes they wear in the day ſerve them covering in the night. The floor is the mmon bed of the whole houſhold: the aſter of the houſe and his wife ſleep in the middle;

middle; next to them the married people; next to them the unmarried women; and next to them, at a little diſtance, the unmarried men, the ſervants, except when it rains, ſleep in the open air.

Theſe houſes have no partitions. Privacy, indeed, is little wanted among a people who have not even the idea of indecency, and who gratify every appetite and paſſion before witneſſes, with no more ſenſe of impropriety than we feel when we ſatisfy our hunger at a ſocial board with our family or friends: it is therefore ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that in the converſation of theſe people, that which is the principal ſource of their pleaſure is always the principal topic, and that every thing is mentioned without any reſtraint or emotion, and in the moſt direct terms by both ſexes.

Soon after the arrival of the Engliſh upon the iſland, they were favoured, for the firſt time, with a formal viſit from ſome of the ladies.

A double canoe, with two women of diſtinction in it, attended by a man, arrived at the fort, where Mr. Banks was. When they came within ten yards of him, they ſtopped, laying down about a dozen plantain trees, and other plants; and the man brought them to Mr. Banks by one of each at a time, paſſing and repaſſing ſix times, and always pronouncing a ſhort ſentence when he delivered them. This done, a large bundle of cloth was brought, which was ſpread piece

by piece on the ground. There were nine pieces, and having laid three pieces one upon another, the foremoſt of the women, who was called Oorattooa, ſtepped upon them, and having taken up her garments all round her to the waiſt, turned about with great compoſure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and ſimplicity, three times. She then dropped the veil, and ſtepping off the cloth, three more pieces were laid on, and the ſame ceremony repeated; and ſo on with the three other pieces. After this, the cloth was rolled up, and preſented to Mr. Banks, whom the ladies now ſaluted.

Two days after, divine ſervice being to be performed by the Engliſh, they were willing that ſome of the natives ſhould be preſent at it, to ſee what effect it would have. Two of the chief perſons being accordingly procured, Mr. Banks ſeated himſelf between them, and during the whole ſervice they very attentively obſerved and imitated his behaviour, ſtanding, ſitting, or kneeling, as they ſaw him do; yet when the ſervice was done, neither of them aſked any queſtions, nor would they attend to any attempt which was made to explain what had been done.

Such were the matins of Sunday; the veſpers were of a very different kind. A young man, a native, near ſix feet high, performed the rites of Venus with a little giril about

eleven or twelve years of age, in the preſence of ſeveral of our people, and a great crowd of the natives, without the leaſt ſenſe of its being indecent or improper, but, as appeared, in perfect conformity to the cuſtoms of the place. Among the ſpectators were ſeveral women of ſuperior rank, who may be properly ſaid to have aſſiſted at the ceremony; for they gave inſtructions to the girl how to perform her part, which, young as ſhe was, ſhe did not ſeem much to ſtand in need of.

In other countries, the girls and unmarried women are ſuppoſed to be wholly ignorant of what others, upon ſome occaſions, may appear to know; and their conduct and converſation, with reſpect to the other ſex, are conſequently reſtrained within narrower bounds; but in Otaheite it is juſt contrary.

Among other diverſions there is a dance called Timorodee, which is performed by eight or ten young girls, conſiſting of motions and geſtures beyond imagination wanton, in the practice of which they are brought up from their earlieſt childhood, accompanied by words, which, if it were poſſible, would more explicitly convey the ſame ideas. In theſe dances they keep time with an exactneſs which is ſcarce excelled by the beſt performers upon the ſtages of Europe. But this practice, which is allowed to the virgin, is prohibited to the woman from the moment that ſhe has put theſe hope-

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ful leſſons in practice, and realized the ſymbols of the dance.

Among ſuch a people as this we ought not to expect that chaſtity ſhould be held in very high eſtimation. There is, indeed, a ſcale in diſſolute ſenſuality which they have aſcended, wholly unknown to every other nation, whoſe manners have been recorded from the beginning of the world to the preſent hour, and which no imagination (but that of a native of Otaheite) could poſſibly conceive. A very conſiderable number of the principal people of Otaheite, of both ſexes, have formed themſelves into a ſociety, in which every woman is common to every man, thus ſecuring a perpetual variety as often as their inclination prompts them to ſeek it, which is ſo frequent, that the ſame man and woman ſeldom cohabit together more than two or three days. If any of the women happen to be with child, which in this manner of life happens leſs frequently than if they were to cohabit with only one man, the poor infant is ſmothered the moment it is born, that it may be no incumbrance to the father, nor interrupt the mother in her pleaſures. It ſometimes indeed happens that the paſſion which prompts a woman to enter into this ſociety is ſurmounted, when ſhe becomes a mother, by that inſtinctive affection which nature has given to all creatures for the preſervation of their off-ſpring: but even in this caſe ſhe is not

permitted to ſpare the life of her infant, except ſhe can find a man who will patronize it as his child; if this can be done, the murder is prevented; but both the man and the woman being deemed by this act to have appropriated each other, are ejected from the ſociety, and forfeit all claim to the privileges and pleaſures of the Arreoy (for ſo it is called) for the future; the woman from that time being diſtinguiſhed by the term Whannownow, "Bearer of children," which is here a term of reproach. Theſe licentious privileges however, are permitted only to the chief people.

Of the food eaten here, the greater part is vegetable. Small fiſh, when they catch any, is generally eaten raw. They have but two ways of applying fire to dreſs their animal food, viz. broiling and baking. The operation of broiling is ſo ſimple that it requires no deſcription: that of baking is performed as follows:——They kindle a fire by rubbing the end of one piece of dry wood upon the ſide of another; then they dig a pit about half a foot deep, and two or three yards in circumference; they pave the bottom with large pebble-ſtones, which they lay down very ſmooth and even, and then kindle a fire in it with dry wood, leaves, &c. When the ſtones are ſufficiently heated, they take out the embers and rake up the aſhes on every ſide; then they cover the ſtones with a layer of green cocoa-nut-tree

leaves,

leaves, and wrap up the animal that is to be dreſſed in the leaves of the plantain. When it is placed in the pit, they cover it with the hot embers, and lay upon them bread-fruit and yams, which are alſo wrapped up in the leaves of the plantain: over theſe they ſpread the remainder of the embers, mixing among them ſome of the hot ſtones, with more cocoa-nut-tree leaves upon them, and then cloſe up all with earth, ſo that the heat is kept in. In due time the oven is opened, and the meat taken out, which is tender, full of gravy, and better in every reſpect than when dreſſed in any other way. They have no ſauce but ſalt water, nor any knives but ſhells, with which they carve very dexterouſly. For drink, they have in general nothing but water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut; the art of producing liquors that intoxicate, by fermentation, being happily unknown among them. We were, however, informed that ſome of them ſometimes drink the juice expreſſed from the leaves of a plant, called by them Ava Ava, till they became drunk; but this was generally conſidered as a diſgrace. Table they have none; but their apparatus for eating is ſet out with great neatneſs. They commonly eat alone, their cuſtoms not allowing that any two ſhould ſhare together in the ſame meſs.

Their chief amuſements are muſic, dancing, wreſtling, and ſhooting with the bow: they alſo ſometimes vie with each other in

throwing a lance. As ſhooting is not at a mark, but for diſtance, throwing the lance is not for diſtance, but at a mark. Their only muſical inſtruments are flutes and drums. The flutes are made of a hollow bamboo, about a foot long, and have only two ſtops, and conſequently but four notes, out of which they ſeem hitherto to have formed but one tune. The drum is made of a hollow block of wood of a cylindrical form, ſolid at one end, and covered at the other with ſhark's ſkin: theſe they beat, not with ſticks, but their hands; and they know how to tune two drums of different notes into concord.

BRITISH MUSEUM

AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PRESENT
AMERICAN DISPUTES,

THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE PRESENT

AMERICAN DISPUTES.

IT is no vulgar or common undertaking for a perſon, born and educated under this government, to enter into political and hiſtorical details, and to execute them in ſuch a manner as to avoid the appearance of partiality.

The attempt has been often made; but the want of ſucceſs would lead one to believe it impracticable. In the moſt earneſt purſuit of truth, and with the beſt and moſt capable diſpoſitions for diſcovering it, the author, if he be a man of principle, will be at leaſt tinctured with the prejudices of that party,

which

which he has been taught to think oftenest in the right; for perfection in politics is no more to be expected in politics than in morals: if he be not a man of principle, motives of personal and private consideration will induce him to espouse that cause, which either in the present or future, promises most liberally to gratify his views of faction or self-interest.

Even foreigners, when treating of the affairs of this country, have uniformly laboured under the same impediment, in some degree. Compelled to collect their materials from systems of error, and party misrepresentations, they are Whigs or Tories, Royalists or Republicans, according to the bias of their own minds, and the preconceived notions of government, which their principles and mode of education led them to adopt. Rapin has given repeated proofs of this in his History of England, and has shewn himself as rank a partisan, as if he had drawn his first breath in Middlesex, or were educated under one of the soureſt unconforming ministers of the last century. If therefore the writer of the following enquiry should undesignedly offend some of his readers of a particular complexion, he trusts that they will arraign his judgment, and not question his intention, as he solemnly assures them, he neither wishes to misrepresent or mislead.

At the termination of last war, there was every prospect of future national happiness. We

We thought ourſelves bleſſed under the power of a mild Engliſh born prince; we were in poſſeſſion of much wealth; commerce was likely to flouriſh; individuals became rich; and if the miniſtry had not found means to contract our trade, we might have ſoon arrived at ſuch a ſtate of ſupineneſs, that even deſpotiſm, if ever intended, might have been eaſily ſubſtituted in the place of freedom.

To attrbute to the preſent miniſtry the cauſe of the alarming ſituation of our country, would be exceedingly unjuſt; for the evils have been accumulating for above theſe laſt twelve years; and originally commenced in Mr. Grenville's adminiſtration in 1763. A regulation in the American and Weſt India trade was then introduced, which no miniſter, poſſeſſed of true national policy, would have aſſented to. This was the prohibition of the Spaniſh trade.

At the commencement of the laſt peace, private merchant veſſels were fitted out from the Spaniſh main, the Havannah, and other parts of Cuba, laden with dollars: they came to our ports, either to Eaſt or Weſt Florida, and other ſouthern provinces, and even to ſome of our Weſt India iſlands, to exchange their ſilver chiefly for Britiſh commodities. This conſequently muſt have increaſed the demand for our manufactures; encouraged induſtry in England; the wholeſale dealer muſt have accumulated wealth; the poor artificer muſt have found conſtant employ-

employment. In this intercourſe and ſucceſſion of trade, millions of money would have been brought to the mother country. Now this miniſterial prohibition effectually prevented theſe happy effects, and proved the ruin of ſome, and impoveriſhed many capital merchants in our colonies; for the Americans, and many of our merchant-adventurers, who went to eſtabliſh a trade in St. Auguſtine and Penſacola, expecting at a peace either a freedom of commerce, or at leaſt no prohibition, had overſtocked their warehouſes with Engliſh goods; where, owing to the exceſſive heat of the climate, in a year or two all the periſhable commodities were unſaleable. This prohibition, ſo repugnant to the true ſpirit of commerce, was in full force for near three years; during which time, many principal merchants in America were ruined, bankruptcies increaſed, and the miniſtry at laſt diſcovering their injurious miſtake, gave free liberty for traffic. This happened too late; for the Spaniards being repeatedly diſappointed in their hopes of a trade in our ports, ſettled a correſpondence with the Dutch and French at St. Euſtatia and Hiſpaniola. The firſt have too much mercantile ſagacity not to avail themſelves of the errors of the Engliſh, or any other nation. When a channel of trade is eſtabliſhed, every merchant knows the difficulty of diverting it into another ſtream.

The

The effects of this impolitic meaſure were ſoon evident. In the colonies, and our new acquired ſetlements, from the latter end of the year 1763 till 1766, were heard nothing but univerſal murmurs and expreſſions of diſcontent. Poverty, in many inſtances, ſucceeded affluence: men who before were very happy under the mild Engliſh government, from the ſtagnation of trade had leiſure to examine the cauſes of their ſufferings, and arraigned freely the conduct of the miniſter. The repeal of this prohibition was received however with univerſal joy, and had theſe ſtrictures on their trade not ſoon after been followed by ſome odious acts, the animoſity, the diſtruſt and fears of the coloniſts then excited, would have naturally ſubſided.

The effects of this miniſterial error were likewiſe conſiderable in ſome of the manufacturing towns in Great Britain. At this time many thouſands of ſailors and ſoldiers were diſcharged from their country's ſervice, and it would have argued the moſt conſummate wiſdom in the miniſtry to have provided labour for ſuch a number of men. This could have been effected by no other means than by an increaſe of commerce, for this alone promotes a ſpirit of indultry. But contracting the ſpirited diſpoſition of the mercantile adventurer, and blaſting in its infancy his hopes of gain, was productive of innumerable evils. This error, ſo uni-

verſally known, though now nearly oblite
rated by many intereſting and more im
portant tranſactions ſince, ſhould have in
duced ſucceeding miniſters to have conſider
ed on ſome mode of reparation to the much
injured coloniſts. It was known to be a
poſitive fact that they were injured, and
even Mr. Grenville's friends acknowledged
the ſtep to be impolitic. The injury the
coloniſts received was the very reaſon that
the prohibitory ſcheme, at firſt ſo ſtre
nuouſly inſiſted on, and ſo ſtrictly adhered
to by the colony governors, was ſuddenly
relinquiſhed.

The merchants of Great Britain were like
wiſe conſiderable loſers, no commerce being
more advantageous than the Spaniſh, who
advance ready money for whatever they pur
chaſe in thoſe countries. This muſt have
increaſed the demand for goods from the
mother country; and a great part of the
Spaniſh ſilver would have been remitted
home. This trade, inſtead of being pro
hibited, ſhould have been encouraged; as
this would have greately increaſed the
wealth, prevented emigrations from Eng
land, and the rapid eſtabliſhment of manu
factories of every ſort on the continent.

Immediately after diſtreſſing the coloni
by prohibitory laws, the next injurious mea
ſure adopted by the miniſtry was the ſtamp
act. Now it was certainly juſt, that the
coloniſts, if able, ſhould aſſiſt in reducing

the national debt; as their defence had incurred an expence of several millions: but before they had recovered themselves from the bad consequences of a restriction of their traffic; before they had repaired the damages their trade had sustained; and while the baneful subject was recent in their memories; an oppressive tax is introduced. First, a ministerial doctrine, equal to extreme madness in a trading country, is enforced, that stabs the very vitals of commerce; and impoverishes, in some degree, a whole country: then, before the universal murmurs are subsided, the Americans are alarmed by a new law. We first destroyed the very means which enabled them to pay a tax, and then we are so unreasonable as to complain of the opposition and resistance, that even necessity causes.

If the Americans had been in a way of accumulating wealth by an increase of trade, it is not irrational to conclude, that they might have chearfully submitted even to internal taxation. It is about this period, however, that we may venture to fix the origin of our present disquietudes; and it is evident, that we became the first aggressors, by our prohibitions of commerce, and by an ill-timed zeal for lessening the national debt. By these means, we have excited a spirit of resentment among the colonists, which will require our utmost wisdom to appease.

The ſtamp-act was ſoon after repealed, as it was the cauſe of the moſt violent commotions all through the continent of America; but a number of leading men, warmed with the love of freedom on that ſide the Atlantic, ſuſpecting the deſigns of the miniſtry, began to diſplay their powers as patriots, and a ſpirit of oppoſition ſoon appeared in different parts of America. The unbounded power of parliament was diſputed; a notion that taxation and repreſentation was inſeparable, according to the Engliſh conſtitution, was ſtrongly inculcated. In ſuch a diſpoſition of the people, there are ſeldom wanting men, who, either through ambition, or an infatuated and blind zeal for the intereſt of their country, are ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for the public good. There are many ſuch diſintereſted men in America, and it were to be wiſhed, we had a greater number in this country.

Notwithſtanding this repeated oppoſition in the coloniſts, though there was every reaſon, from what had already happened, to conclude that internal taxation at that time would excite univerſal diſguſt; yet, by a ſtrange fatality, it was perſiſted in, with an inflexible obſtinacy on the ſide of the miniſtry. The repealing the ſtamp-act was conſtantly condemned as impolitic, and a new mode of taxing was planned and agreed to; this was the tea-act: for, we paſs over many acts that produced no ſmall convulſions in America, which the American ſervants of

government imprudently concealed. This new act, intended to be forced on the Americans, merely to aſſiſt the Eaſt-India Company, was conſidered as a freſh inſult, and received univerſal diſapprobation. The tea was never ſuffered to be landed; a very conſiderable quantity was deſtroyed by the populace; and though various means, and ſome not the moſt honourable were uſed, to enforce obedience to this law, they all proved ineffectual.

An univerſal alarm began now to ſpread throughout the continent, and the miniſtry influenced both houſes to paſs an act, to ſhut up the port of Boſton, till reparation was made by the colony of Maſſachuſet's Bay, for the loſs ſuſtained by the deſtruction of the tea. This act was paſſed precipitately, and their agent, Dr. Franklin, was not permitted to deliver his defence, or to offer reſtitution for the loſs, or advance the objections of his conſtituents to this reſtraining bill.

This act, equally involving the innocent and guilty, raiſed the greateſt tumults, and excited ſuch diſtracted convulſions on the whole continent, that the coloniſts began to aſſemble in arms, and prepare themſelves for a reſiſtance. Theſe preparations were well known in England, and treated with the utmoſt contempt by the court and miniſtry.

The Americans were, unhappily for this country, conſidered as a rabble, who would ſoon diſperſe at the appearance of the king's regular troops. The firſt lord of the Admi-

ralty, ſpoke freely of driving them with a few hundred ſoldiers, all through their country; ten thouſand men were ſoon in Boſton, and the Provincials by this time had trained a conſiderable number of men ready to take the field.

Things were in this ſituation, till the 18th of April 1775, on the evening of which day, a detachment from the King's army, conſiſting of about eight hundred men, commanded by Lieut. Col. Smith, embarked at the bottom of the common in Boſton, on board a number of boats, and landed at Phip's Farm, a little way up Charles River, from whence they proceeded, with ſilence and expedition, on their way to Concord, about eighteen miles from Boſton.

The people were ſoon alarmed, and began to aſſemble in ſeveral towns before daylight in order to watch the motion of the Regulars. At Lexington, ſix miles below Concord, a company of Militia muſtered near the meeting-houſe, the regulars came in ſight of them a little before ſun-riſe, and running within a ſmall diſtance of them, the commanding officer called out to the militia, and ordered them to lay down their arms; upon which the militia huzza'd, and immediately one or two of the regular officers diſcharged their piſtols. This was inſtantaniouſly followed by the fire of four or five of the ſoldiers, and then there ſeemed to be a general diſcharge from the whole Body. Eight of the Militia were killed, and nine wounded.

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The Regulars then renewed their march for Concord, where they knocked off the trunnions of three pieces of cannon, burnt some new gun carriages, and a great number of carriage wheels, and threw into the river a considerable quantity of flour, gunpowder, musket balls, and other articles, and thus accomplished the end of their expedition. At this instant, a body of Provincials, going towards a bridge, of which the Regulars were in possession, were fired upon, and two of them killed; this brought on a kind of regular engagement, when the King's troops were obliged to retreat to Lexington, where they met Lord Percy with a large reinforcement, and two pieces of cannon.

The Regulars having halted an hour or two at Lexington, found it necessary to make a second retreat, carrying with them many of their dead and wounded, whom they put into chaises and on horses they found standing on the road. They continued their retreat from Lexington to Charles-Town with great precipitation, and notwithstanding their field pieces, the Provincials continued their pursuit, firing at them till they got to Charles Town Neck, which they reached after sunset, and entered Boston soon afterwards, under the protection of the Somerset Man of War of 64 guns. The King's forces acknowledged on this occasion, the loss of about three hundred men, killed or wounded; and the Provincials estimated their loss at about one hundred.

This

This first commencement of hostilities was soon followed by another of a still more serious nature, as it was more fatal in its consequences. On the 17th of June following, an alarm was given at break of day, by a firing from the Lively Ship of War; and advice was soon after received, that the Provincials had broken ground, and were raising a battery on Bunker's-hill, against the town of Boston. They were plainly seen at work, and in a few hours a battery of six guns played upon the works.

Preparations were instantly made by the Regulars for landing a body of men to drive them off; for which purpose General Gage dispatched a large body of forces, accompanied with some field artillery, under the command of Major General Howe, and Brigadier General Pigot, who landed on the peninsula without opposition, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats, whose incessant fire obliged the Provincials to keep within their works.

The Regulars formed as soon as landed: the light infantry posted on the right, and the grenadiers upon the left. The 5th and 38th battalions drew up in the rear of those corps, and the 43d and 52d battalion made a third line. The Provincials upon the heights were perceived to be in great force, and strongly posted. A redoubt thrown up on the 16th at night, and other works full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body posted in the houses in Charles-Town, covered

their

heir right flank; and their center and left
ere covered with a breaſt worſt, part of it
annon-proof, which reached from the left
f the redoubt to the Myſtic, or Medway
iver.

The ſtrong appearance of the Provincials,
nd the large columns ſeen pouring into their
ſſiſtance, occaſioned an application for the
egulars to be re-inforced with ſome compa-
ies of light infantry and grenadiers, the
th and the 1ſt battalions of marines; the
hole, when in conjunction, making a body of
bove 2000 men. Theſe troops advanced, for-
ed in two lines, and the attack began from a
arp cannonade from the King's field pieces
nd hawitzers, the lines advancing ſlowly,
nd frequently halting to give time for the
tillery to fire. The light infantry was di-
ected to force the left point of the breaſt-
ork, to take the Provincial line in flank,
nd the grenadiers to attack in front, ſup-
orted by the 5th and 52d battalion. Here
egan a moſt horrible ſcene of blood and
ughter; the Regulars received a heavy
e from the Provincials, who maintained
eir poſt with the moſt obſtinate bravery: the
ng's troops were broken: they were ral-
d again by their officers, and at laſt be-
me maſters of the field, after having loſt
ny of their beſt officers, and the better
lf of their little army. Happily for the
egulars, the Provincials had expended all
eir ammunition, and were therefore no
nger able to ſtand to the charge. Admi-

Administration was taught, by these two events, that the Provincials were not so dastardly as represented; and they might have foreseen, that it became then absolutely necessary, either to listen to a plan of accommodation, or prosecute the war with vigour. The first might have been easily affected by negociating with the congress, and paying some respect to their petition; the latter has been adopted, and must inevitably be productive of irreparable injury to this country.

Hence it appears, the mother country has at first been the cause of the present calamities. By prohibiting a mercantile people from extending their trade, by compulsatory acts of taxation; by forcing the natives of America to be tried in England for acts transacted there; by sending out an armed force to subdue that spirit of liberty which diffused itself gradually through the whole continent; by shutting up one of their principal ports, and by an act, still more powerful and dangerous in its consequences, the prohibition of all future intercourse with the mother country. These, and other causes of the present evils, may be attributed to the English. On the side of the Americans, we find a distrust and violent resistance; an enthusiastic zeal for liberty; a spirit ready to brave danger and death; a determined resolution to transmit to posterity the British freedom, as it is called, inviolate.

On the side of government there has constantly appeared a degree of rashness and

of foreſight in all their meaſures, which ſeem more like a ſeries of inconſiſtent experiments, than the ſteady and wiſe councils of a great nation. The Americans have ſlowly watched, and with an uncommon ſagacity and deliberation diſcovered our errors, and embraced ſuch advantages, as to make things that at firſt appeared trivial, very dangerous and alarming.

Whatever were the intentions of former miniſters, it is evident, that an unacquaintance of the true ſpirit of commerce, and raſhneſs afterwards, laid the firſt foundation of the preſent ills, for here they originate.

It was this fatal political blunder which firſt rouſed a ſpirit in the Americans to eſtabliſh manufactories of every ſort; and great encouragement was given to all inferior artificers in every trade. This at all events ought to have been prevented; and Lord Chatham's idea of not even ſuffering the Americans to forge a hobnail, was truly political. For an increaſe of the mechanical arts in America, muſt poſitively, above all other things, lay the foundation for a total independance, and prove exceedingly injurious to our trade. To whom then are we obliged, for this impolitic ſtep? To the miniſtry of 1763. From ſeveral parts of Germany, laſt peace, thouſands of diſbanded ſoldiers and others emigrated to the American continent, and met with various employment; and it is amazing, what a progreſs has been made towards eſtabliſhing different works in every

part

part of America: but this, probably, would not have happened for a century to come, had not a spirit of industry prevailed, owing to the stagnation of trade, and the multiplicity of unemployed members in the community.

The repeal of the stamp-act was thought impolitic, though it would be difficult to determine why; for, certainly, if an act of the legislature raises universal discontent; when the subjects, by its violence, consider themselves oppressed, such objects are well worthy of consideration; and it argues the greatest political wisdom, for a prince and ministry to endeavour to remove whatever causes suspicions and jealousies in the minds of the people. The stamp-act, if even constitutional, was ill-timed; and from this period, the unlimited right of Great Britain over her colonies began to be disputed with great warmth and acrimony by the different parties.

The ministry conceive, that the legislature have an unlimited power over the colonies; the colonists, already oppressed by some unpopular acts, consider themselves free; and that taxation and representation are inseparable according to the English constitution; they are not fairly represented in the British parliament, of course they consider themselves not obliged to comply with the commands of parliament; they were moreover induced to support this first doctrine, as Lord Camden had publicly declared himself in favour of this opinion. This point has never

yet been clearly diſcuſſed, though it is certainly a very important queſtion, and required the moſt deliberate and ſolemn conſideration; in fact it ought to have been determined before any violent meaſures had been purſued againſt the Americans.

The arguments that have been produced by the writers on the ſide of government, are in general theſe: that the legiſlature have conſtantly framed particular laws for regulating the trade of the colonies; and it is inferred from this, that we have equal power over their internal taxes; another argument is, that ſeveral large trading towns are not repreſented, as they do not ſend any members to the houſe of commons. It is urged likewiſe by the preſent miniſtry, that there is an end to all ſubordination, if the acts of the legiſlative body of king, lords and commons are ever diſputed, much leſs reſiſted. That it is abſolute rebellion to oppoſe theſe laws, however oppreſſive to the ſubjects, if they paſs both houſes and receive royal approbation. Theſe are the principal arguments of the miniſtry and their friends, in favour of thoſe meaſures that have ſo much engaged the attention of the public.

It is next to impoſſible to aſcertain what is conſtitutional according to the foregoing miniſterial doctrines, or the arguments produced againſt them by the patriots or friends of America. Both parties are violent, in which caſe we may be nearer the truth if we obſerve a medium. But now it is not ſo

immediately neceſſary to determine on the right of parliament, as to conſider whether the Americans have been oppreſſed; and, if they admitted the power of parliament, whether ſuch ſubmiſſion would not be ſubverſive of liberty, and hereafter reduce them to a ſtate of ſlavery.

That every people ought to be obedient to the laws of the country in which they live, is a fact that few will diſpute; of courſe it follows, that whatever laws are framed in this country, by the king, lords and commons, the people ought to be obedient to them. But if laws are introduced repugnant to the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, an innocent man may be ſacrificed agreeably to the laws of this country. For the act has received the approbation of king, lords and commons, from whom there is no appeal. So that to determine the juſtice of either laws or meaſures, the firſt queſtion ſhould be; is the law obtained by miniſterial influence? Or are the members who paſſed it diſintereſted and uncorrupt? If they are, we have reaſon to conclude the act paſſed to be wiſely ordained for the public tranquility: but if not, we have reaſon to ſuſpect the profeſſions of miniſters, and the principles by which it gained aſſent.

If theſe wrongs are ſeverely felt by individuals, and the community in general, and if they are unjuſt, or have a direct tendency to injuſtice, what have ſubjects to do in ſuch inſtances? Are they tamely to ſubmit to the

the yoke, and become a country of ſlaves? According to the miniſterial idea of the ſubordinate ſtate of the ſubject they ought. By what means then can it be diſcovered, whether the law is contrary to the original ſpirit of the conſtitution, or not? If it can be judged, that an act has paſſed ſubverſive of our ancient liberties, and obtained entirely by corruption, what muſt be done? If the people who feel the oppreſſion prepare for an oppoſition, and arm in defence of their rights, they are immediately termed rebels, and become the objects of miniſterial vengeance. Is it unlawful then to make reſiſtance in any caſe? If it is, there is no ſuch thing as Engliſh liberty.

If raſh and unconſtitutional proceedings on the ſide of Great Britain have been the original cauſe of diſcontents; ought not theſe cauſes to be removed? Or has Great Britain, now in her peeviſh and declining old age, a right to commit injuries to her colonies, and inſult them if they complain? Or are we to reſt ſatisfied, that all the meaſures on our ſide are perfectly conſtitutional, that we have attempted no improper uſe of our power; and the miniſters and their friends are ſomething more than human? Men, poſſeſſing the moſt ardent love for their country, its commerce and laws; men, whoſe ſouls are ſo elevated, as to be above being guided or directed by any inviſible power; men, who have acted conſiſtent with their dignity, honour, and conſcience. Have they been,

or are they ſuch perfect beings? Aſk the parties themſelves; or let us appeal to the unprejudiced judgement of the diſcerning part of the whole nation: The preſent evils have been long accumulating; and are owing to many ill-concerted plans for increaſing the duties on ſeveral articles, and a new ſyſtem of internal taxation. On the ſide of the colonies, there have been many meaſures purſued, which we ſhould have prevented, or in the firſt inſtances ſuppreſſed.

It has happened, that when the popular clamours were high in America, that ſome men of republican principles encouraged the commotions, which otherwiſe might have ſubſided. Beſides, all over the continent, the generality of the people are enthuſiaſts in religion; and their clergy chiefly diſſenters. It is not difficult to conceive, with what alacrity they would increaſe a warlike ſpirit amongſt their flock; and this will have much greater influence than is imagined.

It is eaſy for their field preachers to inſinuate, the abſolute neceſſity of bearing arms; the rewards prepared in heaven for thoſe Chriſtian heroes who fall in the preſent conteſt; the real neceſſity of a war, in defence of religious liberty. This laſt is a moſt precious and prevailing pretext; and it is eaſy to perſuade the ignorant majority, that the roman catholic religion is going to be introduced; and, as proofs, they may artfully

artfully mention the Quebec act. They may pretend, that they are frequently viſited by the ſupreme being in viſions, and relate, how acceptable in heaven will thoſe be, who ſeal their lives with their blood in ſo righteous a cauſe.

Many ſuch ſtratagems, under the diſguiſed veil, and ſanctity of religion, are conſtantly uſed on that ſide the Atlantic, to increaſe our mutual animoſities; and it is certainly to be expected, that men buoyed up with ſuch aſſurances of heaven will fight deſperately. In all religious conteſts, we find an unexampled bravery, that no dangers diſconcert; and a conſtancy and firmneſs that no force can withſtand.

Beſides the number of factious men abroad, in this country too, there are men ſo unprincipled, as to ſacrifice their probity, honour, love of their country; in ſhort, every thing, on no other principle than to oppoſe the operations of government. If the meaſures of the miniſtry were ever ſo conſiſtent and juſtifiable, theſe men are ever hanging out deceitful and alluring baits to catch the vulgar populace; their very political exiſtence and admiration depends on rendering odious the conduct of the prince and miniſters: they ſpend their whole lives in violent oppoſition and uproar. In ſhort, modern patriotiſm is nothing more than a frantic zeal, inſpired by deſigning men, into weak and impetuous minds. There remains ſo ſmall a portion of public ſpirit amongſt us, that many men,

who ſhould poſſeſs the moſt noble, independant and diſintereſted principles, are ready to ſacrifice every tender tie, every thing great and excellent, for the mean conſideration of ſome temporary bribe, or pecuniary emolument. Their own extravagance obliges them to be ready to proſtitute themſelves to a ſervile dependancy; and if diſappointed in their expectations of preferment, in a fit of deſpair they commence pretended patriots, affect popularity, harraſs and perplex the miniſtry, and injure the whole empire.

It has been advanced, in favour of taxation, that many great trading towns are not repreſented by members in the Britiſh parliament; and, therefore, the Americans are equally obliged to be obedient to the laws as well as theſe people. Though the light of the ſun might as well be compared to the glimmering of a candle, as an Engliſh trading town to ſuch an extenſive country as America; yet, this has been artfully introduced as a powerful argument in favour of the preſent diſpoſition to tax the coloniſts; and ſome thoughtleſs and weak men are perfectly ſatisfied with its validity.

Now the caſe of the Americans, and the inhabitants of a trading town, is in no reſpect ſimilar. In theſe trading towns, all the people are upon an equal footing with the individuals in every part of the kingdom: beſides, though the particular towns are not repreſented, the country is; and there is no town in England, which has not

ſeveral

ſeveral members, of both lords and commons, near them. The members of both houſes are three thouſand miles from the Americans. If the miniſtry were inclined to raiſe an additional tax on any of our manufacturing towns, to which they had not been accuſtomed, would ſuch a law paſs without a violent oppoſition? Would not ſeveral members oppoſe the law: and are they not on the ſpot ready to raiſe the alarm? And would the moſt violent oppoſition in England be conſtrued by the miniſtry into rebellion againſt the prince? Would they call forth a military force in this country, to ſubdue the refractory into obedience? It is preſumed they would act with more caution. Who has pleaded the cauſe of the Americans? What intereſt have they in the houſe of commons? None; except a few members in oppoſition, whoſe reaſoning, though ever ſo cogent, is never attended to. Is it not too true, that the majority of votes, and not reaſoning, prevails? Beſides, were the miniſtry to attempt any meaſures injurious to a trading town in England, would not petitions have effect, when ſupported by members in the court intereſt? Are there any trading towns in this country, that have not ſuch intereſt? What court member in either houſe has attended to American petitions? Have not the coloniſts for theſe ten years repeatedly preſented humble petitions for a redreſs of grievances? Have not the majority in both houſes unanimouſly ſupported the miniſtry; and have they not conſtant!

ſtantly rejected the petitions of the different provinces? How foreign then is this reaſoning to the ſubject; and how abſurd are thoſe men who argue, that the Americans are equally repreſented with us; and that they have an equal chance of redreſs, when it is an abſolute fact, the caſe is juſt the contrary?

It is a certain fact, that the people of Great Britain, in general, are not enemies to the Americans: it is likewiſe true, that the generality of Americans are well affected to the Engliſh, and the Engliſh government. The preſent quarrel, therefore, is confined to a few diſſatisfied individuals, who have moſt probably abuſed their power, or through inadvertence led us into this melancholy ſituation. Men therefore muſt be ſtrangely infatuated, who believe, that ſuch a univerſal diſſatisfaction could prevail in the colonies, without they ſenſibly felt ſome real cauſe; unleſs they laboured under ſome grievances unredreſſed. All our meaſures againſt the Americans, ſeem more like the inconſiderate efforts, and unguarded actions of female petulance, than ariſing from that calm manly ſpirit, which ſhould govern the councils of a great commercial nation. The different miniſters, by artifice, have gradually removed what was originally a captious miniſterial quarrel, to an appearance of a diſpute between the legiſlative body of the realm, the coloniſts, and the people of Great Britain at large.

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The plan which was laſt adopted to ſettle our differences, was ſaid to hold the olive branch in one hand, and the ſword in the other. This ſtatute declared, that Great Britain could bind the colonies in all caſes whatſoever; that the Britiſh parliament had an unlimited power over the property and perſons of the coloniſts: they poſitively inſiſted on the right of fixing the ſum each colony was to raiſe for the ſupport of the mother country. Theſe terms, which were only intended to allure and deceive the Britiſh nation, were rejected with diſdain, and increaſed the animoſities.

It is not thought ſufficient by the friends of adminiſtration, that the colonies raiſe a ſum annually; but they muſt raiſe whatever ſum is voted by a Britiſh parliament. If the members of both houſes were queſtioned ſingly, what mode of taxation was leaſt burthenſome to the individuals in America; or what would be the moſt eligible means of raiſing a revenue; or how much each province could ſpare; perhaps the majority, if they ſpoke truth, would declare they knew not. Is it juſt, is it honourable then, to give votes at random? The members acknowledge they do not underſtand the proper mode of taxation, or the internal police of the American provinces; and yet they ſupport the miniſtry, by countenancing whatever wild projects they propoſe. Whether this is done by deſign or negligence, ſtill the people in Great Britain and Ameri-

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ca became the immediate ſufferers, and the
have an undoubted right to expect redreſs.

To what principles the meaſures o
government may be attributed for the
laſt twelve years is difficult to determin
It cannot ariſe from an intention
only taxing the Americans; becauſe,
all the continental petitions, beſides th
moſt ſolemn profeſſions of allegiance to hi
majeſty, they have voluntarily offered t
raiſe us reaſonable ſupplies; they only inſi
upon following their own mode as uſual fo
this purpoſe in making it dependant on th
votes of their own aſſemblies. If our re
quiſitions were only a ſupply, what matte
how it is raiſed, ſo that the ſum is remitte
to the mother country? This little diſtinctio
trifling as it may ſeem, is for what we a
principally ſacrificing the lives of thouſan
of our brave ſoldiers and ſailors, to exhau
our national treaſure; impoveriſh our peo
ple, and in the end to loſe the very objec
we are contending for.

The main ſcope of the miniſters hath bee
to force the Americans, by every means
direct and indirect, to acknowledge the un
limited ſupremacy of Great Britain, and b
their own inconſiſtency they have prevente
this. To effect theſe great purpoſes, it wa
not the proper way to make laws and repe
them; to be of one opinion this ſeſſion, an
another the next; nor was it honourable t
think of enforcing obnoxious laws, by mil
tary violence, upon the narrow princip

our coloniſts being in a defenceleſs ſtate. or let us remember, that the miniſtry, and l their flatterers and abettors, conſtantly nned in our ears, that the Americans were owards, poltroons, bluſtering bullies. The und of the drum, the piercing ſquall of e fife, the ſight of regular troops, without e uſe of arms, or the thunder of guns, ere to frighten the Americans into ſubiſſion.

It is owing to the contempt which the iniſtry and their wiſe friends had of the merican ſpirit, that we are reduced to our reſent difficulties. The American oppoſion was treated too lightly, and even ludiouſly, till they made a very formidable apearance. Some noble lords aſſerted, the oloniſts were not ſerious; others talked of bduing them without arms, and, indeed, l the meaſures that have been purſued, nvince us, that the information from our lony ſervants muſt have been untrue, or at our miniſtry were dreaming about the airs of the ſtate.

The Boſton port bill, that received ſuch arks of approbation from the miniſterial iends, was to perform wonders; it was reechoed through the land as a ſcheme replete ith political ſagacity; our differences were be ſettled without the loſs of a ſoldier. What has been the conſequence; It widenthe breach, and added fuel to fire; it was freſh reviving air, that ſerved to increaſe devouring flame. If we may be allowed

to

to conjecture, this act was framed on a sup
position, that, however deaf the American
might be to reason, they would soon b
brought to a serious reflexion, when the
trading interests were at stake; and, whe
men are ready to giv- up all their in
terest, nay, even the means of obtaining
livelihood, we have a just right to thin
them sincere. The framers of the bill, argu
ed from their own feelings; self interes
perhaps, is their prevailing principle; an
if they had it in their power to determine
whether they are to be the utter ruin of thi
once happy country, or relinquish thei
places, there is no great difficulty in con
ceiving which they would embrace.

With regard to this last act, it was though
necessary to obtain obedience by a militar
force; and ten thousand men were soon i
Boston. The military of this country, the mi
nistryand their friends, confidently and arro
gantly boasted that this force would be sufficien
to subdue the refractory in the colonies. T
use the ministerial language, this army wa
soon to give a good account of the America
opposition; they reckoned how many week
would pass, before the ringleaders of th
noisy rabble were in our custody; in imag
nation they were brought to England, loade
with irons; they were publickly executed
and their bodies mangled, and burnt a
traitors. The event has proved just th
contrary.

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This formidable army, theſe conquerors of America, have been cooped up in Boſton like inoffenſive poultry; nor have they been capable of performing one exploit worthy of the military bravery of a Britiſh army; nay, they have at laſt been forced to abandon it, and quit it with diſgrace.

The American army, we were taught to believe, were a mere mob, who would fly at the firſt ſight of diſciplined troops; there was ſcarce a military man in this kingdom, or even in America, who did not treat any idea of American reſiſtance as madneſs in the extreme; they declared the thing to be impoſſible. Theſe valiant ſons of Mars, theſe ſelf-ſufficient heroes, were to drive the Yankies, the cowardly American poltroons, the fanatic praying, pſalm-ſinging provincials, all through their country, like a flock of wild geeſe. New generals and freſh troops have been ſent over to be ſpectators of the diſgrace of the mother country, and they have now returned, not like Roman generals, to receive the honour of a glorious triumph, but to convince this deluded nation, if it can be convinced, of the improbability of our preſent meaſures ever ſucceeding.

They who deceive a moſt excellent prince, and a generous and brave people, muſt not complain when they themſelves are deceived. In order, however, to prepare our minds for a more rational conduct, for the future,

let us take a ſurvey of the preſent ſtate of affairs, and the plans intended to be executed by the miniſtry, for the termination of our national diſputes.

At preſent, then, all America, except ſome inconſiderable places, and Eaſt and Weſt Florida, is probably in the poſſeſſion of the provincials. The people on the continent are under the immediate ſubjection of the congreſs, delegated from the different provinces, and elected by the free voice of the people. The congreſs has power to determine on the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued, either to proſecute the war, in the defence of what they call liberty, or to negociate with the mother country on the ſubject of peace. They have, in the name of all the colonies they repreſent, petitioned the king to be upon the ſame footing they were before the year 1763. They likewiſe inſiſt, that a Britiſh parliament have no right to tax them; but they readily ſubmit to parliamentary regulations of their trade. They freely offer, and ſolemnly promiſe to raiſe a revenue for the uſe of ſupporting the burdens of the mother country, but inſiſt on following their own modes of raiſing this ſupply; namely, to be fairly voted as formerly, when the exigencies of ſtate required it, in their own aſſemblies. They likewiſe conſider our reſtraining laws on their trade, equal to a tax. Petitions ſimiliar to theſe have been delivered with the greateſt decency.

cency and unaffected humiliation to the throne, requeſting the interference of his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to liſten to their complaints, redreſs their grievances, and thus happily terminate the preſent diſcords.

The miniſtry and their friends in both houſes, have declared the preſent American reſiſtance, to be rebellion. They have treated the congreſs, and their petition, with the utmoſt contempt. The colony governors have increaſed the apprehenſions of the American ſubjects by proclamations, in which they have proſcribed particular perſons. They have changed the law civil to the law martial. They have endeavoured, but without effect, to excite the hatred of one colony againſt another; and in order to reduce the Americans to obedience, the miniſtry have ſent out a naval and military force.

To determine now what ought to be done is rather difficult; but, as we have only two ways left to proceed; either to conquer this ſpirit in the Americans, or to negociate with the congreſs to eſtabliſh a permanent peace; let us conjecture on the conſequences attending either method, and then we ſhall be better able to form a judgment of what will be moſt expedient for the true intereſts of the country. Firſt then, let us draw ſome inferences, of what may moſt likely happen from proſecuting the war.

Great expectations, it is ſaid, are formed by the miniſtry, of effecting a conqueſt by a naval force. The ſcheme is, to take all the American veſſels and ſell them as legal prizes. Let us, however, remember, they will not be loaded with French indigo, cotton, ſugar or Spaniſh ſilver. We will ſuppoſe, that the whole navy of Great Britain is employed on this occaſion; and in conſequence, through the vigilance of our cruiſing veſſels, all their ſhipping is in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. We will ſuppoſe this effected; we will ſuppoſe, that ſeveral provincial privateers are fitted out againſt themſelves; and that by accident the father murders his ſon, the ſon his father. We will ſuppoſe all their principal ſea-port towns deſtroyed: but then, we have not conquered the coloniſts.

There is a conſiderable army on land, with whom we muſt engage; who are too politic to decide the fate of their country by a ſingle battle. They would moſt probably harraſs our army continually, or keep it fixed in a ſimilar ſtate of inaction, to the valiant ten thouſand in Boſton. But ſuppoſing a very powerful army was to divide, according to the idea of ſome of our Engliſh politicians, and twenty or thirty thouſand ſoldiers were to land in Canada, and the ſame number in the ſouthern provinces, either in Georgia or South Carolina. Is it probable that theſe armies could ever meet? Is it not a fact, well known to the army in general,

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and particularly to thoſe brave men who ſerved laſt war in America, that ſuch a ſcheme would be impracticable? But let us ſuppoſe ſixty thouſand men thus employed, even ſucceeded, conquered and deſtroyed every town and village in America; butchered men, women, and children promiſcuouſly; and nearly extirpated their whole race. Of what conſequence would this continent be to the mother country, when ſtripped of her trading veſſels, when depopulated; when all her towns and villages are deſtroyed; when her fertile corn fields are laid waſte?

How are the taxes, for which we now contend, then to be levied? Can our miniſters, though ever ſuch great financiers, extract from the wild, howling, melancholy beaſts in the deſert, the ſums to pay off the national debt? Would they obtain a majority, would they requeſt both houſes to paſs votes, and force the American trees to comply with the demands of the mother country? Some end may be anſwered by a war with other nations; but what advantage are we to gain by murdering thouſands of our own people? What joy can ariſe from carrying deſolation through our own country, and plunging the ſword into our own boſoms? Such unfeeling reſentments may be agreeable to our natural enemies; but it muſt produce horror in the mind of every well-wiſher to this country.

Our religion, our conſciences, violently oppoſe the preſent unmerciful diſpoſition

to our friends, our relations, our brothers.

But ſuppoſe we ſhould be diſappointed in our expectations of ſucceſs; and a great part of our fleet ſhould be loſt; for all ſea-faring people know what danger there is on the American coaſt, which is a lee ſhore. When the North-weſt wind ſets in, the chief of our ſhips, if they are ſo hazardous as to keep out to ſea, will be driven towards the Weſt Indies. There are likewiſe frequent and dangerous hurricanes on the coaſt. Suppoſing, notwithſtanding our vigilance, many of the American privateers eſcape, and plunder our rich Weſt Indiamen? Will any man converſant in naval affairs and the American coaſt, ſay, that ſuch a thing is improbable? We ſhould recollect, that when ſhips have been out about four or five months, they will want docking; their bottoms will want cleaning; their ſides will want caulking, otherwiſe they will be uſeleſs. How are ſhips to be refitted for ſea? At Hallifax, ſay the miniſtry. Where are the ſhipwrights; for the Americans will give no aſſiſtance whatever in heaving down our veſſels. Nor will our ſhips, unleſs our army ſhould be happily poſted on ſhore, ever be permitted to enter their dock-yards, many of which lie many miles up a narrow river. So that for refitting, our ſhips muſt return home, eſpecially our great ones, or be like uſeleſs logs floating on the ſea. For the American-built veſſels are excellent for quick ſailing; and

thoſe employed on the coaſt being ſmall, are eaſily refitted, even without going into their principal harbours.

The difficulties we are going to encounter, our penetrating miniſtry, perhaps, have not had leiſure to examine; but let us attend, and a little time may diſcover, that theſe preſent ſuggeſtions are melancholy truths. It is our thoughtleſsneſs and want of foreſight that gives ſpirit to the Americans; and it ſeems at preſent the peculiar happineſs of this country, for miniſters to be haſty in council, to paſs laws without conſideration. The American councils, on the contrary, ſeem to be very deliberate; but, when points are determined, the plans are rapidly executed.

The chance, then, is certainly equal, whether our fleet ſhall return victorious, or whether they periſh in the attempt, notwithſtanding our great and expenſive preparations, which, if continued for one year only, will coſt this nation near four millions ſterling. The American revenue would not amount to ſuch a ſum for a great number of years, had even the acts been admitted. An excellent mode of paying the national debt.

If a part of our fleets lay in the American harbours, what will be the conſequence? The Coloniſts, moſt probably, if they poſſeſs the land, will produce conſtant alarms, by either temporary-built veſſels to ſet fire to our ſhips, or other ſtratagems, that will equally

equally annoy us; and, if our ſhips are frozen up next winter in their harbours or rivers, they may likely be loſt for ever to the mother country. Thus will our brave ſailors, the ineſtimable ſupporters of Great Britain, be left to the mercy of an enraged people.

The ill effects of prohibiting all intercourſe with the mother country, will be hereafter ſeverely felt, firſt by the merchants, and then by the manufacturers of Great Britain, not to mention the diſadvantages to our Weſt India iſlands. But, indeed, commercial and pecuniary conſiderations are inconſiderable, when we reflect on the great number of human victims who are to be ſacrificed on this occaſion. But it ſeems the lives of thouſands are trifles to an unfeeling miniſtry. While they enjoy the luxuries of life, undiſturbed, they ſeem inſenſible to the piercing cries of the brave ſoldier or ſailor's widow, and their impoveriſhed fatherleſs children.

From theſe conjectures on our naval force, let us conſider the army. We will ſuppoſe ſixty thouſand men landed, thirty thouſand on the ſouthern provinces, and the ſame number in the northern. For ſome time the army muſt remain near the ſea-coaſts; and, if they begin their march with intent to take poſſeſſion of the numerous towns, villages, and plantations, they muſt leave their heavy artillery; for the roads in America are not like thoſe in Great Britain. In the ſouthern provinces, no per-

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ſon can travel twenty miles from the ſea-coaſts, except through thick woods, and farther up the country there are no roads in many parts. In North America, though a larger portion of land is cleared, yet the travelling in general is through woods, at leaſt every ten or twenty miles. In the progreſs of our military through the country, unleſs the Americans were abſolutely cowards, as the miniſtry formerly aſſerted, and which we now know not to be true; an engagement or ſeveral muſt happen, and the natives of America underſtand buſh-fighting rather better than Scotchmen, Heſſians, or Ruſſians. They know more, they know the country, and they would make every ten miles a ſerious march to our brave Britiſh ſoldiers.

If an army of ſixty thouſand Engliſh are in America, they muſt be fed. But how? Not by the Americans; for they would naturally deſtroy every ſort of ſuſtenance at the approach of the king's troops. It is poſitively impracticable to ſupply ſuch an army, from the fleet or tranſports; or even from the mother coutry, unleſs the tranſports could follow the camp on dry land: but even baggage waggons cannot be drawn far up the country, eſpecially in the ſouthern provinces.

It is an invariable maxim amongſt the Americans, never to face an enemy but with ſuperior advantages and the moſt evident proſpects of ſucceſs. After the ſcorching heat

heat of the day's march, for it muſt be remembered the country in ſummer is burning hot, the ſoldier muſt be refreſhed with reſt: it is poſitively impracticable in moſt parts to form a regular camp; then how is the wearied ſoldier to ſleep in ſecurity? How is an army to brave the dangers of the field, when famiſhing with hunger, and deprived of reſt? In the cabinet, and on the map of America, the miniſtry may form a plan of operations; in the upper and lower houſe they may chearfully vote; but a great army cannot be fed by the wiſhes of the firſt, or the ready concurrence of the laſt: nor can ſoldiers travel ſo eaſy in America, as our wiſe politicians on a ſheet of paper. Our army therefore, unleſs ſupported by ſome ſupernatural means, if they attempt to penetrate far into the country, muſt periſh for want of the neceſſaries of life.

Among other things we ſhould conſider that the climate will occaſion ſickneſs; putrid fevers will probably deſtroy more than the ſword. Where, and how is the poor enfeebled ſick ſoldier to obtain any comfortable relief? The ſick and wounded will be frequently left to the cruel care of Indian ſavages; it would be a greater charity to hang every ſoldier we ſend on this unneceſſary cruel expedition. Only let us ſuppoſe for a moment, that a French army was landed on the coaſt of England; can we imagine they would march through our country? Would all the Engliſh fly at the

appearance

appearance of French troops? Would our enemies receive friendly aſſiſtance from our countrymen? No. We ſhould unite with vigour to oppoſe the intended ravages of the invaders: we ſhould rack our inventions to cut off ſupplies; we ſhould diſcomfit them by every means that fancy could imagine.

Will not the Americans conduct themſelves in a ſimilar manner? Will they not continually harraſs in the day, and in the night, will they not diſturb our wearied men; and are they not on the ſpot ready for theſe purpoſes? It ought to be remembered, that our army will not be permitted to paſs through the country, and receive temporary refreſhments from the people as formerly; nor ſhall we paſs quietly, as our generals did laſt war; nor are the coloniſts to be frightened like the French and luxurious Spaniard, at the name of Britiſh ſoldiers. No; they are inſpired with a fervent diſintereſted zeal for their religion, their laws, their liberties; their property is not alone the object of contention; they are deſperate and determined; their reſolution is to tranſmit to poſterity the Engliſh freedom in its pure original ſtate.

Theſe are the natural diſadvantages of the war, and many more might be enumerated, which at preſent we omit. The miniſtry well know, that neither officers or men engage with alacrity, or cordiality in the preſent ſervice. They, as men of nice honour, are divided between the pleadings of conſcience,

science, and their duty as officers; to men of different sentiments either may preponderate. Necessity may oblige many to engage in the unwelcome service; but others freely declare, they do not perceive the necessity of engaging their lives in a duty, that can neither redound to the glory and magnanimity of the country, or the military spirit of the honourable soldier.

Thus it must appear, that the prosecution of the war, let it be considered in whatever point of view, must be injurious to our country; and not improbably sever us for ever from our colonies. If we are successful by our arms, still no good whatever will be obtained; for our success will be our ruin: and if we are unsuccessful, we must then make peace with our colonists on their own terms.

Men in an enemy's country, perhaps cut off from all supplies, if the commanders imprudently marched too far; and, in a starving condition, surrounded by the provincials, are not likely to engage with courage.

It is not improbable, that the foreign troops would readily embrace the first favourable opportunity that offered to desert, when they found a likelihood of being better provided for. These are only some of the disadvantages which may happen if our army proceed up the country. If they remain near the sea-coast, or in a similar state to those lately in Boston, we may as well keep them peaceably and inactive in our

our own country; and by that means ſave the nation millions of money.

We would adviſe theſe pretenders to conqueſt, to conquer their own private reſentments; their own violent paſſions; then their inflexible perverſeneſs and obſtinacy: this would be a conqueſt indeed; a conqueſt, that would not diſgrace the greateſt man in the kingdom.

To bring about a reconciliation of theſe unhappy differences, on the ſide of government, ſome points ſhould be given up; all animoſities ſhould ceaſe before the commencement of a negociation, and an act of general pardon and oblivion of what has paſſed, ſhould lay the foundation on the ſide of the mother country. The high-ſpirited reſentments of ſome leading men in America ſhould ſubſide; diſcord and violence on both ſides ſhould end, and the calm voice of reaſon ſhould be ſubſtituted in their place. Thus may tranquility be reſtored, and thus may the blunders of the former and the preſent miniſtry be repaired, and the deſigns of thoſe wretches who have fomented our unnatural diviſions, both in this country and in America, be fruſtrated.

The inſinuations, that the Americans aim at independance, are ſtories invented and circulated to increaſe our animoſities; but there is nothing more untrue. It is impoſſible for the coloniſts to be happier than under the protection of Great Britain; and

they will underſtand their own intereſts. It is what they wiſh; it is what they have petitioned for. Shall we be deaf then to their intreaties; and by our petulence and inflexible reſentments, loſe them for ever? It is inevitable, unleſs we approve of ſome mode of reconciliation. It is from our repeated inattention to their applications for redreſs, that, unwearied and alarmed with jealouſies, they have armed in their defence. Now they are in arms, now it is found in direct contradiction to the paliating and amuſing profeſſions of adminiſtration, and their ſervile adherents on the continent, that the provincials are reſolute; we are diverted with a new ſpecies of reaſoning, that does high honour to the parties.

One noble lord ſays, "Bad this year, better the next; that the Engliſh are always unſucceſsful at the beginning of a war." Another noble lord, tells us, that we muſt ruſh on the foe impetuouſly, and conquer this ſpirit in America. We are to do this immediately, without any conſideration. We are not to examine too nicely into the cauſes. Indeed his lordſhip is right, they will not bear examination; but they ſhall be examined, and the public ſhall be informed of their evil tendency. A third lord, in an elegant oration, rails vehemently againſt miniſters at the opening the ſeſſion; next day accepts a place, and turns yeſterday's ſatire into a panegyric, and loud bawlings of applauſe

applauſe to-day. It is however not our province to be perſonal; we mean only to attack meaſures, not the men, for this laſt would be an inexhauſtible ſubject.

This detail of facts is ſubmitted to the conſideration of the unbiaſſed and ſenſible part of the nation; and it is preſumed moſt thinking men will acknowledge, that the miniſtry have, in ſeveral inſtances, oppreſſed the Americans. The diſturbances have not ariſen from the deſigns of a few factious men, either in this country or America, as adminiſtration would fain make us believe. But all our preſent misfortunes ſeem owing to our inflexible obſtinacy in purſuing unconſtitutional meaſures. A regular ſyſtem of oppreſſion has prevailed on the ſide of Great Britain, and a violent and ſteady oppoſition on the ſide, and in every part of America. We have been deaf to petitions or remonſtrances, or the American diſtreſſes; we have, by injuring commerce, induced thouſands of our poor countrymen to ſeek for employment in foreign countries; theſe petitioned too, but we were unheedful of their complaints. Thus have we ſtrengthened the power of America, and weakened and rendered feeble our own country. Petitions for theſe ten years have approached the throne; the petitioners have been conſtantly ſcorned, rejected, and even inſulted.

The whole conduct of the miniſtry, the preſent ſtate of this diſtreſſed nation; the

whole of the foregoing facts, all prove the truth of theſe aſſertions.

If the war is even juſt, and we proſecute it with vigour and ſucceſs, yet it will ruin the country, which reaſon alone ſhould induce us to avoid it. If it is unjuſt, when the calm voice of reaſon returns, what horrors, what tortures, will then afflict us? The ſad remembrance of the ſlaughtered victims will ever be preſent to our view; our guilty ſouls will be ever on the rack; ſtruck with remorſe, we ſhall ſink with deſpair; and death will be a relief to minds conſcious of murdering an inoffenſive people, who have not provoked us.

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